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TRB

from Washington
March 24, 1973

The Tax Dodgers

President Nixon has distorted the whole issue of taxes in an audacious and inflammatory manner. He can hardly make a statement these days without invoking the fear of higher taxes; it is like a voodoo chant. The sorrowful thing is that Congress crouches and cowers whenever the unspeakable tax demon is summoned in the Nixon dirge. Now White House sorcerer's apprentice Ehrlichman has joined the incantation. He told a TV audience in retrospect that "that was the campaign issue, the principal, central campaign issue on the domestic side in this past Presidential campaign." The President's second term commandment is, in short: Thou shalt not raise income taxes.

Much of the White House ritual is setting up and knocking down straw men. A good deal of the economics invoked in the rites is claptrap. The real issue, of course, is whether we are going to have tax reform; whether the rich are going to be taken off welfare. If this is done it will indeed raise taxes. The burden of American taxes as presently distributed is outrageously unfair. I don't think there is a responsible economist in the country who doesn't know it and assert it. Harvard professor Stanley S. Surrey (assistant Treasury secretary, 1961-69) simply testified to the Ways and Means Committee the other day that the present system is "immoral." Period. The financial journals are filled with articles telling, in effect, "how you too can cheat on your tax returns."

It must be a very innocent reader who doesn't know by now the disparity of income distribution in America. If you will forgive a statistic, the richest tenth of the population gets 29 percent of the personal income and owns 56 percent of the national wealth, while the poorest tenth gets one percent of the income and is in debt. It is this disparity which is perpetuated, if not increased, by the present tax structure.

The unfairness of the tax structure was increased by the tax cuts of 1969 and 1971. These gave a couple of dollars of tax relief to the prosperous for every dollar to the worker. I won't bore you with the figures but the truth is incontrovertible I believe; the tax burden has been shifting from the corporations and the affluent to the middle class and above all to the worker who gets hit by the implacable payroll tax (deducted at the source and from which there is no loophole) and the social security tax. The poor are taken care of by the sharply regressive sales taxes. The sardonic fact is that while Mr. Nixon is saying "no higher taxes," the built-in regressive social security taxes are automatically increasing every year. Just do nothing and the workers will pay more.

On the financial side the failure to raise adequate, appropriate taxes from the corporations and the tax-sheltered affluent has resulted in Mr. Nixon's tangled economics: four huge, consecutive end-to-end federal deficits that have helped promote inflation and two devaluations of the dollar. And when Mr. Nixon raises his ululating chant of "don't raise taxes," what he is really saying is freeze the present tax structure in a form that pleases the conservatives, that perpetuates depletion allowance for the big Texas oil campaign contributors and that smoothes the path for certain recipients of incomes of $200,000 who pay no more tax than a garage mechanic or, perhaps (like 106 individuals in 1970) escape taxes altogether in the wonderful world of tax shelters.

Efforts to save the social welfare reforms of Kennedy-Johnson days are met with the aggressive Nixon warning against "raising taxes." The political device involved is entertainingly simple and anybody can learn it, and it forms a pattern of Mr. Nixon's political career. Find a subject of odium and then pin your opponent with it.

The transparently honest Representative Jerry Voorhis wanted to help the poor and he was branded soft-on-communism. So were those who opposed Vietnam. Today it is those who want to reform the tax structure: they are soft-on-tax increases. And last week there were the soft-on-crime people who wanted to support the Supreme Court's anti-death sentence decision, and ameliorate the noxious conditions in the ghettos, but the President blankets them with "soft-headed judges" and a "permissive philosophy."

There is a modicum of truth in Mr. Nixon's soft-on-taxes theme and in fairness it should be stated. A flabby Congress has often legislated inefficiently and wastefully. But that is no excuse for perpetuating the present system. There is the frightening specter of a taxpayers' revolt. It is that time again—the first robin and tax form 1040!

It is a masochistic exercise to prepare your own income tax; but there is something rather magnificent about it, too. It rests on trust in government, trust in fellow man, trust in the idea that most men in many circumstances are comparatively honest. America will be a different place if the system collapses, as it well may.

At recent appearances White House assistant Ehrlichman has tried to frighten the public by implying that if you crack down on the millionaire's tax shelter you won't be able to make a $5 tax-free gift to the Boy Scouts and so on. It is funny to see oil depletion allowances hiding behind the $700 education for each kid. "There's a lot of misinformation around in this business of tax loopholes," Ehrlichman said, spreading more of it around with both hands. He argues that you can't raise much money by closing tax loopholes without wringing it from the little man. He is simply wrong. Two loopholes slipped recently into the law, for example, will give big corporations over $75 billion by 1980, by the Treasury's own figure.

"It makes no sense for a nation with a median family income close to $11,000," Brookings' top tax economist Joseph Pechman testified to the Ways and Means Committee the other day, "to pretend that it cannot take care of its poor in a dignified way, improve its education system, remove some of the blight from its cities, and support other public services adequately because it has reached the limits of its taxable capacity. Tax rates are high in this country because certain kinds of income largely escape taxation."

That's the story, folks. And here I have a mass-mailed business reply card from E. F. Hutton & Company, Inc., first class, prestamped. "Are you interested in tax-free income?" it asks me.

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Coming to the Aid Of What?

What is the President's Vietnam policy to be, other than fearing the worst and hoping for the best? In talking about aid for the next year, he is very restrained. No one can be sure whether the next installment for Southeast Asia will be spent on the works of war or peace. In the past the US has tried to finance both at once. The original aid request for Vietnam and Laos in fiscal year 1973 was $634.8 million for "supporting assistance" and $2.846 billion for military grants. These sums were never approved by Congress, and so aid to those countries was funded by a continuing resolution that kept expenses roughly at the 1972 level, 30 to 40 percent less than the request for this year. Military grants are straightforward; they pay for arms and armies. Supporting assistance is a more complex device used to prop up the local economy, chiefly through subsidizing the import of American goods. These imported commodities are supposed to soak up excess currency on the local market, provide tax income for the receiving government and stave off inflation. In Vietnam US aid generates about half of the government's revenue. In addition to these economic and military props, the US gives some direct humanitarian assistance, a much smaller sum (about $50 million of the total $600 million supporting aid in 1973), which is more or less used for refugee relief, relocation, emergency health and education programs.

The administrators at the Agency for International Development resent congressional interference in the allocation of funds within foreign countries. They are unhappy, for example, with the "Kennedy amendment" that sets a minimum amount that must be spent on direct humanitarian aid. The men at AID feel this restricts their freedom of maneuver, and it does.

The President has announced that he now wishes to extend this aid "throughout Indochina" as "an investment in peace." He finds sanction for it in the honorable tradition of postwar assistance to Germany and Japan after World War II. However, Marshall plan aid was genuinely postwar, coming after something substantial had been settled on the battlefield. The aid being talked about for Indochina is of a different sort. It comes on top of billions already invested so that Saigon generals could keep a grip on a part of the real estate of the South; though if they had lost their grip the US would have lost noth-

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ing worth having. Moreover, Indochina has been changed little by our 19 years of costly intervention. We're getting our prisoners back in return for pulling our troops back, and that's fine, but no political truce (not to mention settlement) is in sight. When Mr. Nixon meets with General Thieu April 2 the conflict will still be, as one of the returning POWs said, "a conflict between the Vietnamese people"; and, he added, "whether you like it or not, [it] should have been theirs to decide." The crucial question now, given the uncertainties of the cease-fire, is whether Mr. Nixon will stick to his policy of Vietnamization or will instead choose to try once again to use American power to impose his will on this still bitterly divided country.

In the weeks since the Paris treaty was signed, there have been hundreds of daily violations of the truce, and US spokesmen say that 12,590 Communist soldiers and 2597 South Vietnamese soldiers have been killed since January 28. Thieu's agents have been accused of maltreating Communist delegates to the peace supervisory commission and of causing the death of one. North Vietnam has twice held up the return of American POWs and now charges that Thieu is evading his obligation to free thousands of prisoners in his jails. The Saigon army has reportedly taken back 400 villages the Communists overran in the first days of the cease-fire. The North Vietnamese have undertaken a refortification of their position in the South: according to the Pentagon, 30,000 fresh troops have been sent down the Ho Chi Minh trail since January 28, along with 300 armored vehicles, 150 anti-aircraft guns and 150 artillery pieces.

When reconnaissance photos taken in February showed that the North Vietnamese had placed anti-aircraft missiles around the former US Marine base in Khe Sanh, Washington complained to the supervisory commission, asking for an investigation. The Hungarian and Polish delegates voted against it, and the chief Canadian representative hinted that he was prepared to take his men home if the obstruction persisted. In the end, the missiles were removed, possibly to be placed elsewhere, when the US delegate, Major General Gilbert Woodward, told the North Vietnamese that unless something was done, "my government reserves the right with its allies to take such actions as it deems appropriate." What actions? Resume the bombing?

If the cease-fire were effective, there would be no reason to withhold humanitarian aid to Indochina. With six or 12 months' evidence that all sides had given up hope of winning a victory by military means, Congress might vote to send a modest sum—perhaps several hundred millions of dollars, which is small on these scales—to restore bridges and roads, open new hospitals and schools. This support could be given to people living in Communist and non-Communist controlled areas, including those under the Vietcong and other insurgents in Laos and Cambodia.

Unfortunately the AID program to date and the requests being made for 1973 and 1974 indicate that the President doesn't have this sort of assistance in mind. The bulk of our aid to Southeast Asia will undoubtedly continue in its present form as US Treasury subsidies and credits to foreign governments. As mentioned, relatively little is spent to provide goods and services directly to the needy, and that's filtered through layers of corruption. Within the lump of aid given as subsidies to foreign governments, the greatest portion in Indochina goes for military supplies. Thus in the Defense Department budget for this fiscal year there's a category called "Military Assistance Service Funded" for Vietnam and Laos—$2.785 billion for military aid. The same category for next year, by the latest Defense calculations, includes $1.9 billion to aid "first, Vietnamese and other free world forces in support of Vietnamese forces; second, local forces in Laos; and for related costs in such terms and conditions as the Secretary of Defense may determine." (This is exclusive of US military costs in the area.) Military aid requests for Thailand in 1973 haven't been finally determined, but for Cambodia the sum will be $133 million. Stanley Karnow reported in these pages that the actual rate of spending on US military aid in Cambodia at the moment is about $5 million a week. So the total military aid projected for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in 1974 comes to something more than $2 billion. This is a peacetime budget.

Why do Vietnam and Laos need $1.9 billion in mili-

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tary aid during a cease-fire? Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee asked this question last month, and got little in response. When asked by Senator McGovern what would happen if peace were proclaimed in Cambodia, Under Secretary of State Curtis Tarr said that 40 percent of the military aid funds might go unspent because there would be no demand for ammunition.

McGovern. Would other forms of military aid be continued?
Tarr. The amount spent for ammunition would probably not be spent on other things, but I assume you are asking would the other things come as well.
McGovern. That is correct; that is right.
Tarr. And to some degree they would continue. These items have been ordered from American manufacturers; they are in the process of being shipped out to Cambodia. They are assigned to specific units that are part of their force structure. Probably the bulk of those items for the rest of the year will continue to be delivered.
McGovern. So even in the event of a cease-fire, 60 percent of the military aid otherwise planned would continue to go forward.
Tarr. I would think that most of it would.

Under the Paris agreements all parties are forbidden to import into South Vietnam or Laos, troops, military advisors, technical military personnel, arms, munitions or other war material until the new governments have been established. The only exception is for the replacement of weapons and ammunition as they are used up or destroyed. Must we assume then that the near $2 billion in military aid will be spent on simply maintaining the armies? The US is either leaving Vietnam to settle its political differences without interference, or it isn't. Under the AID program we are either giving humanitarian assistance to countries at peace, or support to governments at war. By clinging to the ambiguity of the old AID system, Mr. Nixon permits himself to have it either way.

Congress has an opportunity, once again, to put an end to this ambiguity and close off the possibility of our militarily reentering the Vietnamese conflict. Senators Clifford Case (R, NJ) and Frank Church (D, Idaho) have sponsored a bill (S578) that would prevent spending any money "to finance the reinvolvement of US military forces in hostilities in or over or from off the shores of North and South Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia, without prior, specific authorization by Congress." It would take effect 60 days after the signing of the original peace treaty, by which time all POWs and MIAs are supposed to be accounted for. Few congressmen seem interested in it; no hearings have yet been scheduled on the bill. Why, we don't know. For without some assurance of this kind, there is little point in talking about reconstruction.

Gray Clouds

"The irony of these things," a senator on the Judiciary Committee observed recently of the confirmation hearings on L. Patrick Gray III to be director of the FBI, "is they are seldom settled on their merits. The nominee often gets tripped up by something else." That something else in this case may turn out to be John Wesley Dean III, counsel to the President and the man in the White House with whom Gray had most of his direct dealings on the Watergate burglary and bugging investigation.

It was Dean who on June 19 ordered Watergate defendant E. Howard Hunt's White House office safe cracked open two days after the break-in; it was Dean who held onto the material from the safe for a week before turning it over to the FBI; it was with Dean that Gray negotiated to have White House aides interviewed by the FBI; it was Dean who said he would sit in on those interviews; it was Dean who on July 17 requested and later got a report on the FBI Watergate investigation to date; it was Dean who on July 26 requested and got the first of 82 investigation reports including summaries of FBI interviews; it was to Dean, and only to Dean, that Gray turned to ask about a *Washington Post* story which alleged FBI reports had been shown by a White House aide to a potential grand jury witness; it was Dean who five times within the first two weeks of the FBI investigation called Gray to complain about information leaks; and it was Dean whom Gray telephoned "to request return of [a] second group of [FBI] investigative reports."

When Gray was asked on his sixth day before the committee about Dean's receiving FBI information, and about the propriety of that considering Dean might have had some relationship with Watergate defendant E. Howard Hunt or G. Gordon Liddy (both had worked at the White House), Gray rambled: "... so I would say at that point in time and right up until this point in time I had no indication, no reason to believe and the information available to me didn't create any thought in my mind that [Dean] would possibly be involved in the Watergate." Yet two months earlier Jeb Stuart Magruder, former deputy director of the Committee to Re-elect the President, had testified publicly that it was John Wesley Dean III who brought Watergate defendant Liddy over from the White House in December 1971 and recommended Liddy to be CRP's general counsel. And it was at that same meeting that Magruder and Dean discussed, according to sworn trial testimony, "the potential opportunities if we had an investigative problem or intelligence gathering problems that Mr. Liddy's background [as an FBI agent, no less] would suit that type of work." That discussion laid the groundwork for what later became the Watergate conspiracy. Shortly thereafter Magruder testified that the special fund arrangement was established through which Liddy

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financed the Watergate bugging. It is difficult to believe that the FBI—and therefore its acting director—was unaware of Magruder's testimony about Dean, since Magruder and Dean had been interviewed about Liddy by the bureau numerous times.

When Gray returns to testify this week, major discrepancies or gaps in previous testimony are bound to be scrutinized. For example Gray testified that after reading of the alleged leak of FBI material to a grand jury witness he had one telephone talk with Dean and was reassured there was no truth to the story. So he pursued the matter no further. But according to a recent submission to the committee, Gray's own records show that on October 18 he called Dean at 9:05 am "*re* news articles" on the leak, and 25 minutes later he had a meeting, previously not disclosed to the committee, with Dean in his office "to discuss leaks *re* investigation."

Gray also testified that, as far as he knew, Dean's search of Hunt's office June 19 and the opening of his safe "came as a result of [FBI] agents' desiring to find out whether or not Mr. Hunt had an office there and Mr. Dean said that he would have to check. . . ." In a filing with the court in the Watergate case, the government prosecutors said Dean broke open Hunt's safe not as the result of inquiries from law enforcement agents but to determine "whether Hunt had complied with established procedures to turn over all White House papers and files upon termination."

Gray's unfamiliarity with bureau activities was evident when Gray confessed, contrary to previous testimony, that bureau agents had *taken it upon themselves* to begin investigating FBI leaks to grand jury witnesses. Gray said several times that he himself had not thought it necessary to do more than question White House Counsel Dean.

Gray's frequent declarations that the Watergate investigation was "a full court press," that the FBI would investigate the case fully, cannot be taken at face value. An FBI June 19 memorandum did say that the inquiry would look into possible violations of the interception of communications (IOC) laws "and other federal statutes." One month later, however, in a memo sent to the White House, Gray said the FBI would limit itself solely to the IOC, despite leads which indicated possible violations of the campaign contributing laws ($89,000 in Mexican checks traced back to a Texas corporation); the new campaign fund reporting act (cash transfers by reelection committee personnel unreported in filings) and using the mails to defraud (campaign sabotage via distribution of phony fliers and letters). Furthermore although Gray initially testified *all* leads were followed, he later amended that to eliminate some leads given by stories: "I just absolutely refused to respond to some of those particularly when we looked into it and there will be notes like that on some of the teletypes where I said, no, we are simply not going to run this down. . . ."

Gray's performance is losing him Senate support. "He *is* compliant," one GOP senator told a colleague, indicating doubt as to how he would vote if the nomination reached the floor. Within the FBI itself, Gray is known as "Three Day Gray," meaning that he spends the other four days of the week elsewhere. The bureau is not accustomed to having its leader's integrity questioned and found wanting, or having a direction so amenable to guidance from lower-echelon presidential aides.

The Nixon Watch

"I Run the Campaign"

During a televised interview on January 4, 1971, after saying that the rebroadcast on the night before the 1970 congressional elections of the crudest of his several crude attacks on crude dissenters was a mistake that wouldn't have happened if he had been "running the campaign," President Nixon added: "Incidentally, when I am the candidate, I run the campaign."

Getting Mr. Nixon, his chief assistants and his White House spokesmen to acknowledge that he ran his 1972 campaign in the inclusive sense that he indicated with his 1971 remark has been a vain endeavor since he announced his candidacy for renomination and reelection early last year. The temptation to attribute the difficulty of demonstrating that the President followed his own maxim in 1972 to the Watergate bugging case and the continuing disclosures of the campaign crookery that it set off is almost irresistible. But the temptation has to be resisted in the interest of truth, the truth being that Mr. Nixon created an elaborate structure of concealment months before the scandals began to break.

The structures that hid his management of the campaign were his Committee for the Re-election of the President and its affiliated finance committee. It may be, of course, that he anticipated at least some of the chicanery that occurred and the necessity to insulate himself from it. That is supposition, however, and a reasonable assumption is that the purpose evident at the time the committees were organized, along with a cooperating and covert campaign apparatus within the White House establishment, was the main and sufficient purpose. It was to enable Mr. Nixon to run as a President occupied with the business of the presidency, leaving the practical politics of the operation to the politicians and technicians who headed and staffed the committees and, behind the scenes, the aforementioned White House apparatus. Foresight may have figured, as has been suggested. But even so canny and experienced a politician as Richard Nixon can hardly

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have foreseen that the concealing structures would finally conceal, or importantly help to conceal, any connection that he may have had with activities that have caused the reelection committee to be fined $8000, confronted seven of its employees and retainers with criminal charges and prospective prison sentences, and tarred one of the President's brothers, one of his closest assistants, and at least one of his former Cabinet officers with complicity in rascalities ranging from probably illegal and certainly improper solicitation and disbursement of political contributions to use of those funds for spying upon and sabotaging the Democratic opposition.

The ultimate irony of the situation is that the concealing mechanisms worked really well only after it became absolutely necessary for them to work well—which is to say, with the disclosure of behavior that would discredit the President and besmirch his presidency beyond recovery if personal responsibility for any of it were admitted by him and his spokesmen or provably traced to him. The pressure of the latest revelations is beginning to tell; *nothing* may work well enough very much longer; but up to this writing, thanks in part to the extraordinary loyalty and discretion of the people in the President's immediate service, it cannot be said that he, personally, has been connected or associated in the slightest degree with any of the disclosed skullduggery. And that is all that he requires. The reading at the White House is that no critical harm will be done, that nothing catastrophic to the President and his presidency will develop from the continuing and enlarging scandal, if only the insulation of the President himself from the sordid business can be sustained and preserved.

The irony just mentioned lies in the circumstance that the President's close and detailed management of his 1972 campaign was never effectively concealed; yet any responsibility that he may have for the more sordid aspects of the campaign has been very effectively concealed. The cover for his management was so transparent that Mr. Nixon cannot have taken it seriously or expected others to take it seriously. His reelection and finance committees were headed and principally staffed by men who were placed there, the chief among them assigned to their campaign jobs by the President himself, because they were known to be his men—wholly loyal, wholly dedicated to his reelection, men who could be absolutely counted upon never to do anything that they didn't know or have reason to suppose he'd want them to do. It's a familiar roster, but worth recounting in this context.

The reelection committee's first director was the President's former law partner, the manager of his 1968 campaign and his first attorney general, John Mitchell. Its second and last director was Clark MacGregor, who was transferred from the White House staff to replace Mitchell when he resigned—not because, some at the White House said, of possible involvement in the Watergate scandal but because the President and his top domestic assistants, H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, wanted to assert and maintain closer control of the committee than they could with so great and independent a Nixon grandee as John Mitchell at its head. One of Haldeman's White House protégés, Jeb S. Magruder, and Fred Malek, the President's chief personnel recruiter, were the committee's deputy directors. The head of the finance committee, the campaign's Mister Money, was and still is former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans. One of Stans' assistants was the President's brother, Edward Nixon, who according to sworn testimony shared and furthered Stans' passion for cash contributions in large amounts. If the President wanted to know and didn't know all there was to know about this aspect of the committee and campaign operation, all he had to do was ask his brother. So many White House assistants turned up on the two committee staffs and Mitchell, MacGregor and Stans spent so much of their time at the White House, in consultation with the President and his assistants, Haldeman and Ehrlichman, that the projected image of the committees as independent entities became a standing joke among White House and political reporters. Before and after the President's renomination, Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler regularly referred all questions about Mr. Nixon's political doings and plans to his counterpart, also a White House transfer, at the reelection committee. In short the reelection and finance committees were and still are, in their remarkably prolonged post-election afterlife, extensions and adjuncts of the Nixon White House, at the disposal and command, sometimes direct and sometimes indirect, of the President. He was the candidate and he ran the campaign, as he had said he would.

Now the taint of campaign misbehavior has spread from the committees to the White House. Patrick Gray, the President's nominee to be director of the FBI, has given the Senate Judiciary Committee FBI evidence that Dwight L. Chapin, nominally and until recently the President's appointments secretary and actually one of his principal campaign operatives last year, recruited a young California lawyer and college classmate; Donald Segretti, to direct spying and sabotage aimed at the Democrats. Herbert Kalmbach, a California lawyer who has raised money for Nixon campaigns and represented the President in legal matters, told the FBI that he, at Chapin's direction, paid out between $30,000 and $40,000 of campaign money—Kalmbach didn't keep a record—to Segretti for services unknown to Kalmbach. Chapin was the President's man and, second only to Nixon, Bob Haldeman's man. We are asked to believe that he left their service for a private job (with United Airlines) at his own initiative and solely "for the sake of his family and career." We are asked, too, to believe that the Presi-

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dent's and Haldeman's man did what the FBI says Kalmbach said he did without the knowledge or authority of either the President or Haldeman.

We have it from both Patrick Gray and John Ehrlichman that Bob Haldeman was not among the 14 White House assistants questioned by the FBI in connection with the Watergate affair. Who's surprised? Not I. Ehrlichman was one of the 14. He says he wasn't asked what if anything he might know about the Watergate or related matters; only about two defendants in that case, Howard Hunt and Gordon Liddy, who once worked for him at the White House. Ehrlichman said he didn't know anything worth telling. Who believes that? Not I. The President's young staff counsel, John Wesley Dean III, is "invited" to testify for the Senate Judiciary Committee on Gray's confirmation, and the President is on record personally and in a formal statement with his absolute refusal, on the traditional grounds of executive privilege, to let him do it. The interesting thing about John Dean is not that, as the President says, he established by investigation at the White House that nobody employed there when the Watergate case broke last summer knew anything about it or had anything to do with it. The interesting thing, adroitly obscured by the President and his senior assistants, is that Dean's primary assignment since last summer has been to follow, for the President, all of the sundry official investigations of all aspects of the manifold campaign scandals. He is bound to know more than the press and public, not to mention Congress, are ever likely to know about them and about what the President knows about them.

Note: My recent statement that the President's original version of the Nixon Doctrine is not on the public record is incorrect. The text is in the President's *Public Papers*, 1969 edition.

John Osborne

The Military

What's Up in the Budget?

by Walter Pincus

Remember the stern rules for spending that President Nixon enforced on the domestic side of his budget? There had to be a "leaner federal bureaucracy"; "progress" was to be measured "not by the amount of money we put into programs, but by the accomplishments which result from them"; there should be no "overlapping of responsibilities" which "increased the costs of government" and "generated interagency conflict and rivalry." Congress in its "extravagance" had been overly indulgent with committees "sympathetic to particular and narrow causes," "encouraged by special interest groups and by some executive branch officials who are more concerned with expansion of their own programs than with total federal spending and the taxes required to support that spending."

It's worth recalling the President's verbiage with respect to his budget cuts and his reorganization of domestic spending, for none of it seems to have carried over to defense and foreign military aid. Just the opposite. Here pay rates and prices escalate, with expenditures scheduled to rise some $5 billion next year and another $4.5 billion the year after, all with presidential approval.

The biggest defense procurement increase, close to $1 billion, comes in navy shipbuilding which last year had scandalous cost overruns and faulty planning. The major new investment is a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier—the navy's third—for which the administration seeks $657 million, on top of $299 million received last year. The carrier plays no part in strategic defense. It is a tactical weapon associated with wars such as Vietnam, or any future "limited" war, and when David Packard was Defense under secretary, construction of this third carrier was delayed because of tight budgetary restrictions. During the past two years, with the Vietnam air war in high gear, the navy made do with 14 carriers. The first nuclear carrier will arrive later this year, and the carrier fleet will then return to its traditional 15 in number, continuing at that level through 1980, when this newest carrier is scheduled for delivery.

A second controversial navy construction project which is getting a healthy boost in the fiscal '74 budget ($556 million) to a total of $1.1 billion next year is the Trident, the follow-on ballistic missile submarine de-

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signed to replace the Polaris. The navy also wants to push ahead with its less publicized, but cost overrun-plagued program to modernize its guided missile frigates. An additional $186 million is sought for three such ships. Past testimony before Congress has disclosed that this program is running late, and modernization costs often exceed the original price of the ship.

The navy also wants $29.3 million for advanced procurement of a new class of ship. Designed as a mini-carrier it will handle 17 aircraft, including helicopters. In the words of Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., chief of naval operations, this sea control ship is "conceived to provide tactical air capability in lower threat areas" than Vietnam. It would be "useful," he told congressmen last year, "in areas where we don't have carriers."

Thus as we enter the "era of negotiations" and embrace the Nixon doctrine, under which we foreswear any ambition to police the world, the navy is preparing and the administration funding, an air capability that will permit us not only to support a war like the one in Vietnam, but also fight future engagements of lesser magnitude, the so-called "brush-fire" wars.

Defense research and development is scheduled to rise some $500 million next year to $8.8 billion for all services. Some of these anticipated projects deserve close review.

Despite the arms limitation treaty which holds the US and Soviet Union to two anti-ballistic missile sites, the army plans to almost double, from $100 million to $170 million, research on a new hardsite ABM system designed to protect our entire Minuteman force. The level of funding, for a system to follow and supplement the now frozen Safeguard system, appears to be running at the same level as before the treaty with the Soviets was signed.

The Congress and Defense Department last year knocked out appropriations for the army's Cheyenne armed battlefield helicopter program, after spending several hundred million dollars. But the army is back again, asking for $49.3 million in the '74 budget to explore the possibility of constructing a new "advanced attack helicopter" that would provide "fire support at night and in adverse weather." As a piece of transport equipment, the helicopter is to be the recipient also of sharply increased research funds from several services—a situation that was specifically criticized last year by the House Appropriations Committee. The army wants $108.1 million, up from $50 million last year, to develop a replacement for the UH1, the "Huey" that provided general tactical support in Vietnam. Called the UTTAS (utility transport aircraft system), it is programmed even at this stage to cost per unit almost four times the Huey.

The army also will double its research (to $60 million) on designing a new heavy lift helicopter. The need, says the army, is for a helicopter able to lift 22.5 tons—about the weight of the new trouble-prone Sheridan tank. The navy, on the other hand, says *it* needs a heavy lift helicopter that is seaworthy, but that only lifts up to 16 tons. The administration is prepared to give the navy $30 million to develop its version of the heavy lift helicopter—up $20 million from the current year. In 1972, Congress wanted the two programs merged. They weren't.

At least two other research items are worth mention. The navy is budgeted for $72.8 million, up from $32 million this year, for a "surface effect ship." This essentially exploratory venture looks toward a propulsion system that would permit high-speed—up to 100 knots—transocean vessels which would ride on a cushion of air. It's recognized as a "far out" idea, but if it can be made to work for large vessels, it would radically alter naval warfare requirements. It poses a neat question of priorities. Given the administration's aversion to extravagance, Congress may question the prudence of spending that much money in pursuit of a naval advantage for which no need has been shown, and which may not be accomplished anyway.

The air force will get $67.2 million to research its advanced short landing and takeoff transport, intended to succeed the C130. Though the latter has performed well and is relatively new, the air force is jumping its funding request for a replacement by $50 million.

In justifying their budget, military men argue that research costs must go up steeply as preliminary work gives way to design. Additional funding, therefore, is only part of a longer term investment and does not reflect year-to-year changes in the political, diplomatic or fiscal position of the country. But that argument loses some of its force if military programs are equal competitors for federal dollars. The SALT agreement—the one signed and a second one that is to be negotiated—*should* permit less rather than more research on some future ABM system. The elimination of overlapping federal civilian grants, mostly for welfare, would seem to argue at least for consolidation of competing military programs. The scuttling of a weapons system because it had no defined mission should not lead to new investment in new research on the same kind of weapon. After all, the domestic programs that allegedly have failed are not being replaced.

Goldplating, or building an excess of unnecessary equipment into weapons systems, is another part of the '74 budget that deserves scrutiny. For example the marines are scheduled to make their first purchase of a new batch of F4J fighter aircraft. Total cost: $125.6 million or roughly $12.6 million apiece. The air force is also planning to purchase F4s, 24 of them, to replace those lost in the closing months of the Vietnam war. Price tag: $98.6 million, or $4.5 million per plane. Some in Congress are already looking askance at the almost $8 million per plane difference in the two purchases. New avionics and ground support equipment

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for the marines, they say, doesn't come near justifying so striking a discrepancy in price.

The navy is in there with $455.4 million for 45 more S3A Viking anti-submarine warfare planes, despite a warning last year by the House Appropriations Committee (which cut it back) that this project was nowhere close to being cost effective or justified by mission.

The air force is returning for an additional B747, denied it last year by Congress, which criticized the airborne command post program. Cost for the one plane: $32.3 million. The air force is also seeking $180.6 million to buy 36 more C130 cargo planes. Whether these are intended as replacements for Vietnam losses or are to be turned over to General Thieu cannot yet be determined.

No such ambiguity cloaks the army's request for funds for new equipment to replace material turned over to the South Vietnamese when "peace was at hand." For example the army wants $51.5 million for 24 CH47C Chinook helicopter transports and $96.7 million for 308 Huey light transport helicopters—all of which are paybacks to the army for Vietnam transfers. Last year the Congress refused to replace any more than 106 additional Hueys the army gave Saigon. The army wanted to give away more, though the South Vietnamese did not have trained crews to handle them. The army is also asking for $164.6 million to buy 480 new M60A1 tanks, the primary tank in the armor division. The army has turned over to Thieu older tanks that were in army reserve and guard inventories. It now wants to replace them with the newer, more costly M60.

When the US quickly transferred a large amount of military equipment to Thieu in the closing days of 1972, F5 jet fighters were included, some taken from squadrons "borrowed" from Taiwan and Korea. Both countries in turn demanded and received the presence of American F4 squadrons, so as to fill the gap created in their air defense structures until *their* F5s could be replaced. The fiscal '74 budget contains $69.3 million for 116 new F5s, some no doubt to replace those given to the Vietnamese. In addition there is $112 million in new funds to purchase 71 of an even faster version of the plane, called the F5E. Since the air force won't fly these planes (they're too cheaply made), they all must be for foreign sales or gifts.

The defense budget also reveals a step-up in purchases of ammunition and equipment to replenish stocks around the world that were somewhat depleted during the war. For instance expenditures for the new Mark 48 torpedo, a conventional weapon to be carried by our nuclear subs both old and new, is boosted to $191.2 million. Funds for the Captor torpedo, a new secret "encapsulated" (whatever that is) weapon, are doubled. A new shoulder-fired flaming rocket launcher is scheduled. Tacfire, a new computerized tactical firing system for field artillery, is being funded at a $40.6 million level.

Despite considerable publicity about the failures of various air-to-air missile systems during the Vietnam war, the services are increasing their purchases of the Sparrow from $40 million to $90 million. The new Phoenix system will get $100.3 million. The standard Pershing missile long-range nuclear fire support weapon will draw $57.8 million in army funds, up $21.5 million from last year. This weapon was not used in Vietnam.

The air force is budgeted for $107 million worth of Maverick air-to-surface, electro-guided rockets, a weapon that came into use in the latter stages of the Vietnam war. The navy wants to begin buying Harpoon, a new ship-launched anti-ship missile that is still being researched.

Thanks primarily to the all-volunteer force, personnel costs of defense are climbing. Overall, they will be up some $2.1 billion, though there will be a drop of over 50,000 in the number of servicemen. Not all of that drop, however, is a complete loss to the defense budget. Reserve forces, if Defense has its way with Congress, will go up by 23,000 and 31,000 of the jobs formerly filled by military men will be taken over by civilians. In addition the services are already seeking an extra $150 million to advertise for volunteers in certain specialties now in short supply. To attract new officers, the college reserve officers training programs have established full scholarship programs at an added cost of almost $30 million. The army guard program is to go up by $136 million, the air force by $76 million.

One program the administration is pushing that will cost over $400 million is a pay boost for retired officers and enlisted personnel, to reflect the increase in pay to servicemen on active duty. Called recomputation, this proposal faces strong opposition on the Hill. But its inclusion in what the administration classifies as a tight budget indicates that the shortage of federal funds for domestic needs does not even carry over to retired military—a good many of whom are in their 40s.

A "generation of peace" and the improbability of a nuclear exchange notwithstanding, the '74 budget for the civil defense agency will rise almost $5 million to a total of $88.5 million. Among the items going up are new warning and communications equipment to signal an attack. The Department of Defense also has earmarked a slight but significant increase of $150,000 for its lobbying on Capitol Hill—which, if approved, would permit $1.3 million to be spent for that purpose.

The Defense Department will have $10 million more to spend on base schools for children of military families, where there's no nearby public school. This increase coincides with the administration's decision to cut back federal aid to school districts adjacent to military bases, though these districts will still be expected to educate the military's children.

Higher expenditures for the defense establishment are paralleled in the budget by larger amounts re-

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quested for various military assistance items. Direct grants to other countries for military equipment and training will go up by $135 million, to $685 million. Next year's program is still classified, but this year (fiscal '73) Cambodia and Korea are scheduled to get almost half of what is allocated. Other major recipients in fiscal '73 are Thailand, Turkey, Jordan, Indonesia and the Philippines, with Ethiopia and Spain also getting a fair slice. The '74 defense budget retains military assistance for South Vietnam and Laos, $635 million less than in the previous year but still funded at $2.1 billion, just below what it was two years ago when the war was hot and heavy.

The administration also wants to raise security supporting assistance by $132 million, to $732 million. This assistance, most of which is destined for Vietnam, goes for direct budgetary support of a government, or its economic programs. Other countries scheduled to receive this form of aid during the current year are Cambodia ($75 million), Laos ($49 million), Israel ($50 million) and Jordan ($40 million).

Another military grant program will distribute material declared excess to US needs. Under this category Taiwan this year picked up some $28.8 million worth of equipment, Turkey some $52 million and Vietnam $33.2 million.

While the administration seems to hold the upper hand in its enforcement of domestic cuts and impoundments, it may find that the 93rd Congress will exact *its* price for this budgetary stringency by taking a whack or two at defense. Last year Congress cut $5 billion from the President's defense budget, yet legislators found themselves tagged as spenders because of increases approved in the domestic area. Today irritation on Capitol Hill, both toward the White House and the Pentagon, is running high. Whether this will result in even deeper defense budget cuts than last year, depends on the willingness of Congress to take the heat the President and the Joint Chiefs could generate over congressional cuts "endangering of the national security."

The '74 budget abounds in ironies. One may be found in the President's budget message, where he discusses domestic programs. "Delay in congressional consideration of the budget is a major problem," the President said, and he called for "prompt enactment of all necessary appropriation bills before the beginning of the fiscal year (July 1)." In the case of the defense budget, however, Congress this year has been held up by the changeover from Secretary Laird to Secretary Richardson. Indeed Richardson then asked to delay his appearance before the appropriate committees of Congress until after the President had delivered his State of the World address. So the House Appropriations Committee, which undertakes the major defense budget review, will not get started on the defense budget until April 3, the latest date their hearings have ever begun. It's just another irritant, one of many that may result in the toughest year the military has had on Capitol Hill for a long time.

Practitioner of the Old Politics

Labor's Al Barkan

by Paul R. Wieck

The Friday before last Thanksgiving, Alan Baron dropped by the office of Alexander E. Barkan on the third floor of the AFL-CIO headquarters across Lafayette Park from the White House, to pick up Barkan's recommendations for the charter commission being named by Democratic National Chairman Jean Westwood. Baron glanced over the list of 13 names: one woman and one black. Baron, in charge of clearing names for the commission as Westwood's administrative aide, told Barkan there would be no problem getting his 13 choices on the 106-member commission but suggested it would be helpful if there were more blacks and women. "It was like pushing a button and getting a blast," Baron recalls. Barkan said he'd put the most qualified people in organized labor on the list, that he didn't make choices on the basis of race or sex but on ability, that the quota system was destroying the Democratic Party, and that the best thing that could happen to the Democrats would be to return to the system which produced Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Kennedy, all Barkan heroes. Then, voice lowered, he told Baron there was no point in dis-

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cussing it further, they'd never agree. Baron left.

Days later, the AFL-CIO political apparatus that Barkan directs helped Robert S. Strauss unseat Westwood, and the following Monday morning Baron was fired. Yet Baron isn't bitter: Barkan is "the most honest guy I've dealt with in politics for a long time. You know where he stands. He doesn't tell you he's for reform in principle and then cut you up in practice. He doesn't even say he's for party unity. He says the left should go."

Barkan is the hard-nosed pro, the guy who can size up an upcoming campaign and isn't afraid to gamble on a "high risk" candidacy, the "good trooper" who carries out the wishes of his superiors but levels with his enemies. He gives everything "101 percent," plays a little rougher at times than necessary, can't abide amateurs, has no patience with losers and isn't an ideologue. He sits astride one of the most powerful political networks in the country as political surrogate of AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany and his 30-member executive council which last year voted 27-3 against endorsing McGovern.

But Barkan must also keep the good will of 127 presidents of international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, because they control the flow of money to the Committee on Political Education (COPE) of which Barkan is the executive director, and because they provide the campaign workers in the towns and cities. They are Barkan's real constituents, and most of them share his conviction that last fall's returns confirmed the AFL-CIO strategy of concentrating on congressional races. They share his scorn for the "elitists" (read McGovern militants). They rejoiced with Barkan on election night last November when the Senate and House counts came in, and they join in taking a full share of credit for the two-seat Democratic gain in the Senate and the minimal losses in the House. Like Barkan, they long to see the Democratic Party beat a massive retreat from the so-called New Politics, back to the old New Deal coalition.

Barkan has a field staff of 12 regional directors, two women's directors and four minority staff members (black and Mexican-American). They in turn work with COPE committees in each state. In 1972 Barkan's operation had more than two million dollars to dole out—better than $1.3 million in "voluntary" money contributed by rank-and-file members and passed on to Washington, and over $600,000 in registration funds. (Several of the large activist unions such as the Communications Workers, Machinists, Meat Cutters, State, Federal and Municipal Employees withheld "around $500,000" because they differed with the decision not to back McGovern.) In addition, COPE has "about $1 million" in dues money for "education" in campaign years. Veteran New Dealer James Rowe recalls that during his 1972 travels with Humphrey, "everywhere we went, Barkan's boys provided the muscle."

One political technician who worked with Barkan and respects him describes him as "intense . . . a reasonably bright guy who doesn't think of issues as issues as much as political tools . . . terribly devoted to labor and Meany but somewhat frightened of Meany . . . no administrative talent but a good salesman who's built an organization out of the AFL-CIO amalgam . . . strong-minded, reasonably narrow-minded, tries to accomplish much of what he does with bluster and aggressiveness."

"If Alexander Graham Bell hadn't invented the telephone," an associate comments, "no one would have invented Alexander E. Barkan."

Barkan has a new speech every year which he gives to COPE conventions from coast to coast "with all the fire of an evangelical preacher," a performance in the old tradition of the union organizer whipping up his charges before they go out on the picket line. He seldom sees the press. He leads an unostentatious private life. He rides to work in a car pool from Bannockburn, a middle-class, largely Jewish Maryland suburb. He doesn't smoke or drink, takes walks, diets. He's an opera buff. He goes regularly to Redskin games, but Bill DuChessi, perhaps his closest friend and his successor as political action director of the Textile Workers, says even that doesn't get his mind off politics.

Barkan emerged as a visible presence in the Democratic Party in the fall of 1971 when he took personal command of a fight to deprive Senator Harold E. Hughes (D, Iowa) of the chairmanship of the Credentials Committee. Within hours after Barkan and his aides started twisting arms, Barkan's name was on everyone's lips in the lobby of the Mayflower Hotel, where the Democratic National Committee was meeting to choose between Hughes and Patricia Harris, a black lawyer from the District of Columbia. The Barkan crowd won that fight hands down. In retrospect it seemed hardly worth the effort. For Hughes couldn't have been tougher as chairman than Harris was, and by the time of the Miami Beach convention, Hughes was an ally of sorts as de facto chairman of the Muskie—not McGovern—campaign.

DuChessi says of the incident: "Al feels badly about it. He was boxed in by Larry O'Brien. To this day, he's never met this woman Harris. O'Brien told him it would be a disaster if Hughes were chairman. He said Hughes was leaning toward McGovern and would throw the whole thing to him."

By the fall of 1971 it wasn't difficult for O'Brien or anyone else to ring alarm bells at AFL-CIO headquarters. Meany, Barkan and a good many of their cohorts, particularly those out of the traditionally conservative and Irish-led building trades unions, had watched with consternation the gathering by the tens of thousands of long-haired kids chanting obscene slogans against the war, passing joints in public, even stripping to bathe in the reflecting pool that stretches from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monu-

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ment. To Meany, who comes from a turn-of-the-century Irish Catholic household in the Pennsylvania mining country and who takes his advice on international affairs from Jay Lovestone, an ex-Communist turned straight with a vengeance, it was sacrilege. To Barkan, the protestors revived resentment at the failure of the McCarthyites to back Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

The rules of procedure that were laid out for the Democratic Party by the McGovern-Hughes Commission never appealed to Barkan. Open up the party? To what? He thought the New Politics bunch were about as amateurish as he'd ever seen. But Barkan's way of coming to terms with the rules adopted for 1972 wasn't much more professional. First, the AFL-CIO developed an "uncommitted" strategy and set a goal of filling at least one-fourth of the spots on every state delegation to Miami Beach with labor union members. That would have given them about 750 delegates to play with, and possibly to throw to Senator Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson (D, Wash.), an early favorite of Meany's because of his militant support of the military and the war, while backing labor's stand on domestic policies. The "uncommitted" strategy washed out in its first test—in Arizona's "mini-primary." Later Meany and Barkan moved to Humphrey.

Barkan and Meany watched helplessly as the McGovern cadres, whom they suspected of indifference or insensitivity to the working man, won delegation after delegation, while labor's own forces split hopelessly among Muskie, Humphrey and Jackson. The "quota system" as applied to delegate selection horrified them. At every turn the superstars of a host of activist groups—women's liberation, gay liberation, the student antiwar movement—were placed on delegations while labor's men were shunted aside. "Can you believe it," Barkan burst out to a friendly senator in Miami Beach, "on the New York delegation, two labor union leaders and seven fags!" To this day Barkan gives a riotous account of the Minnesota Democratic State Convention which, before a statewide TV audience, passed a resolution favoring legalized homosexual marriages. To Barkan it was sheer madness.

At Miami Beach Barkan operated out of a box at the edge of the convention floor. His impulse to thrash about was given full play as his couriers dashed back and forth carrying instructions. Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) was on the floor working for McGovern. He was one of those who felt strongly that since Meany and the executive committee had not taken a formal position on a candidate, Barkan shouldn't be so deeply involved. He said this during a floor interview with Mike Wallace, and when Wallace asked what Barkan thought about it, Wurf waved his arm toward Barkan's box and replied: "He's right over there. Why don't you go and ask him." Wallace tried but Barkan refused to go on TV. DuChessi, seated next to Barkan, noticed that the conversation was being carried live. "You're on the air, Al," he shouted, and Barkan fled.

Barkan is determined 1976 won't be a replay of 1972. To make certain it won't, he enlisted in the campaign to replace party chairman Westwood with Robert Strauss. Barkan is intent on two things: flat repeal of the "quota system" and no off-year convention in 1974.

Originally a combination of the Fraser (formerly McGovern-Hughes) and the O'Hara Commissions had proposed a mid-term Democratic national gathering to debate and frame a party platform and to organize for the fall congressional campaigns. This was rejected in favor of a new charter commission and an off-year convention called for the purpose of approving the charter. Barkan still didn't like it, and doesn't. "Al thinks it's nuts to have an issue convention," one friend in labor says; he sees it as "more opportunity for chaos than any constructive action." He can't forget those "kooks, crazies and communists" he's convinced took over at Miami Beach and who, in his opinion, destroyed any possibility of the Democrats' winning the presidency in 1972.

Of the 13 names Barkan gave Baron, only six were put on the charter commission. There was no question about the woman—Evelyn Dubrow, the highly respected Washington representative for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) for many years. But the black—an aide of Bayard Rustin at the labor-backed A. Philip Randolph Institute, was vetoed by other blacks from New York City. Barkan himself turned down a request he serve on the delegate selection committee and asked that his friend DuChessi go on in his place.

To Barkan, those who aren't happy in the mainstream of the party might as well cut out, as Wallace did in 1948. "Strauss," says one of his friends, "will include everybody. Al is so busy excluding, he's just like the McGovern people. I think he's an awfully arrogant man at times. I don't think he remembers where he comes from."

He comes from Bayonne, New Jersey, where an older brother was a minor figure in the Hague machine. He went to the University of Chicago in the

COMING: The last in a series of six articles on the absentee owners of America

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days when professors like former Senator Paul H. Douglas (Barkan studied under him) were inspiring activist students with socialist leanings. He returned to Bayonne to teach political science in a high school, but in the mid-'30s walked into the Textile Workers office and volunteered. He became an organizer, met his wife on a picket line, and after World War II became the political director. To quote DuChessi, who first worked with him in 1946, Barkan "was probably the most loved guy in our union at that time. I don't know anyone with more friends than he had during his years as our PAC (Political Action Committee) director. He's forceful, he's a good platform guy, he never got above them."

During the bitter fight for control of the Textile Workers in 1952 between Emil Rieve, the incumbent president, and George Baldanzi, the first vice president, Barkan was with the winner—Rieve. Of that fight DuChessi says, "we thought it was wrong to have that kind of fight. Rieve had been picked by Sidney Hillman in 1939." Barkan is not an insurgent.

With the AFL and the CIO merger in 1955, Barkan moved up to become deputy director of COPE, a position he held until James McDevitt of the AFL died in the mid-'60s, when Barkan moved up to the top job. He is at his best in developing congressional candidates and promoting them. Intraparty fights are forgotten. For instance Wyoming's Representative Teno Roncalio (D) resisted heavy pressure from Barkan's office in the Hughes-Harris fight and cast his vote for Hughes. But in 1972 Barkan and COPE supported Roncalio. Indeed COPE may have had to swallow hard but it backed almost all of the sitting "doves" in the last three congressional races. True it's the state COPE organizations that make the initial endorsements, but there is no evidence Barkan placed any obstacles in the way of support for a Gore, a McGovern, a Yarborough, a Church. He's expected to back McGovern and Hughes for reelection in 1974.

Barkan's crowd isn't always with the winner. In New York City, where the building trades in the labor council have deep suspicions of "leftists," huge sums of labor money were poured into the campaign of Priscilla Ryan against Representative Bella Abzug (D) in the fall campaign. Abzug won.

If Barkan had a magic formula (other than the Scammon and Wattenberg book, *The Real Majority*, a sort of Bible in Barkan circles) for restoring the New Deal coalition, a lot of his critics would buy it sight unseen. They and he have watched the old alliance of workers and middle-class liberals and minority groups crumble under the impact of crime and the "welfare mess"; watched as family farmers, once a bulwark of the coalition, dwindle in number; watched as new issues such as the environment and trade restrictions (Meany is backing the Burke-Hartke bill to impose quotas on imports costing American jobs) threaten to shatter whatever is left of the traditional coalition. Few would argue with James Rowe's assessment: "Without labor, we can't beat anybody." It does not follow that *with* labor, the Democrats *can* beat anybody. With new concerns thrusting their way into the limelight and the White House working overtime to make certain these concerns further split the Democratic Party, where is the new common ground?

Ben Albert, COPE's communications director, sees the problem in these terms: "Basically, the labor movement supports candidates to get legislation we need. We want to win because that's the way we get legislation. We're convinced the American people aren't going to elect a guy perceived as way over on the left. Our own members abandoned McGovern in droves but stuck with the Senate candidates. Our strategy does not involve trying to grab control of the Democratic Party; however, considering what we do for candidates, we should have some influence. Blacks are interested in jobs. So are we. We're interested in health security. So are blacks, the elderly, the lower middle class. We feel these are still important issues although they may not have the drama of the youth movement. We need the black vote and a substantial part of the white, working class vote."

To extend COPE's influence, Barkan has helped set up new operations such as the A. Philip Randolph Institute run by Bayard Rustin, and "Frontlash"—a youth group headed by Penn Kemble, former president of the Young People's Socialist League. (Barkan's favorite handout to candidates last fall was a *Commentary* article by Kemble in which he excoriated the McGovern Commission rules.) Plans are underway for a labor-backed group serving the interests of the Mexican-American community and COPE has close ties with the National Council of Senior Citizens, organized a decade or more ago to lobby for Medicare (a favorite refrain in Barkan circles is, "why wasn't there a quota for senior citizens if you're going to have a quota system?").

Barkan's first task is to try to bridge the deep divisions of last fall, when a significant share of the activist unions went their own way and backed McGovern. There's still a lot of bitterness and more than a few COPE critics find Barkan "still too emotional" about the "elitists." The traditional speech by Barkan comes under fire from those who feel the political directors have a lot to learn these days from the rank and file, especially the long-haired younger workers who wear hard hats. One indication of Barkan's problem is the decision of Wurf's union (AFSCME) to put its money into PEOPLE (Public Employees Organized to Promote Legislative Equality), not COPE. It's not that much money right now (PEOPLE raised $150,000 last year); however AFSCME is the fastest growing union in the AFL-CIO (about 1000 new members a week) and, with about 600,000 on its rolls, is already No. 5 in the AFL-CIO. At its present rate of

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growth, it's only a matter of time before it overtakes the larger AFL-CIO unions (the United States Steelworkers with 1.2 million is the largest). With 10.5 million government employees around, its potential is enormous.

This independence isn't limited to AFSCME or the United Auto Workers (UAW), long one of the most effective political unions in the country but no longer affiliated with AFL-CIO. You see it in the Communications Workers, the Electrical Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Meat Cutters, the Machinists, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

At 63, the fight Barkan has undertaken could be his last hurrah. He'll keep many allies in the "old boys" network, and in the end it could all be resolved without bloodshed by a presidential candidate acceptable to a wide segment of the party – a Kennedy (DuChessi estimates 75 percent of labor's leadership favors him), a Mondale or a Hughes. Meanwhile the very fact that most of the people I interviewed begged anonymity tells you that Barkan's footsteps are still heavy in the corridors of labor politics.

Universities Without Walls

by James Ridgeway

A growing number of colleges and universities are beginning to offer bachelors and masters degrees to students in experimental programs conducted outside the campus by part-time teachers. Since the experiments tend to bypass the academic professions and do not make use of large university installations, they are much less expensive than traditional college and on economic grounds alone are attracting students. They represent a potential threat to organized academia, particularly to state universities that have persuaded legislatures to sink millions of dollars into elaborate campus complexes and large standing tenured faculties and research staffs.

In a typical experimental scheme, a student will work directly with one teacher who may be a government official, writer, businessman or a moonlighting professor from another institution. The student defines the goals of his study and together with the teacher arranges a study plan for a set period of time. Then he proceeds on his own, keeping in touch with the teacher by phone, over lunch, after work and so forth. The study may result in a scholarly paper, a series of reports based on attending courses and reading books, organizing and leading a group therapy session, making a film. In the case of one convict the study plan centered on his attempts to keep fellow convicts from going back to jail a second time.

Some of the students have high school degrees; others do not. Often the educational plan is based on the student's job. The students generally are in their 30s. Their education costs range anywhere from $600 to $2000 a year. Usually they can obtain a BA in three years. But the programs are set up so an individual can start, stop and restart any time he likes. (In theory some of the schemes are similar to traditional correspondence schools, although in practice the programs are more tightly defined and there is personal contact between teacher and student.)

Because of their newness, most of these programs seem somewhat vague and confused. Traditional pedagogues snipe at them for shallowness and say they are diploma mills where a person can pick up a BA for a few thousand dollars and a set of home movies of his last vacation to Trinidad.

Some of the experimental courses are provided by members of the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, a consortium of 25 institutions which offer University Without Walls programs. The union was formed in the mid-1960s, but only began to operate in 1971, on Ford Foundation and government money. Four thousand students are enrolled. The different units within the union function autonomously but have certain things in common; for instance, students, faculty and administrators participate in design and development of each UWW program. There is no fixed curriculum, nor any set time for awarding de-

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grees. Generally they make use of adjunct faculty. In one program students and advisers may see each other frequently. In another meetings will be infrequent. One place may specialize in independent study; another will rely on organized courses or seminars. Some have strict admissions standards; at others admissions are open to anyone. Some members keep detailed records; others none. The union is authorized by the board of regents in Ohio to grant degrees and is in the process of receiving formal accreditation from the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools.

The union is headquartered at Antioch, in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Antioch itself offers various sorts of experimental schemes, all of them rooted in the belief that education must go hand in hand with work. In addition to its main campus at Yellow Springs, Antioch has a network of campuses and learning centers around the country. In the Washington, DC area there is a Washington-Baltimore campus, which consists of offices in both those cities as well as one at Columbia, Md. Attached to this "campus," there are several centers, including one for Appalachian studies in Huntington, West Virginia; one in Minneapolis; a program for Mexican Americans in Mercedes, Texas; a teaching center in New York; and a program for graduate doctors' assistants run in conjunction with Harlem Hospital, in New York.

Morgan State College, a black school in Baltimore and a member of the union, has 139 students enrolled in its University Without Walls. Ages of the students range from 19 to 66. Many of them live nearby in Maryland, and while the study programs are arranged individually with faculty members, most of the students take courses at Morgan State. The program costs $630 a year. To give an idea of how it all can work, here is a plan developed by one woman who holds a job as chief addictions counselor at a university hospital in Maryland, is married and has children. One part of her study involved a tutorial with the chief hospital psychologist, who taught her how to administer and interpret complex psychological tests. Under his supervision she went on to administer the tests to groups of patients. Under the supervision of a sociologist at the hospital, she put together, and then led a therapy program for alcoholics. In addition, she worked at a list of readings laid out by her different supervisors.

Empire State College, a new experimental part of the State University of New York, is not part of the University Without Walls consortium but is widely viewed as one of the most innovative and interesting institutions in the country. Empire State is a year and a half old and has graduated 45 students. It now has an enrollment of 1000, and by 1980 expects to be instructing 24,000 students. Its students range in age from 17 to 71. For New York State residents the cost is $900 a year, slightly more for out-of-staters. It takes three years of full academic work to get a BA. The college headquarters and administrative center is at Saratoga Springs, New York, but operations are carried on through learning centers in New York City, on Long Island and in Rochester. Each learning center has a complement of about 15 faculty members, most of whom have advanced degrees. Students at Empire State are first interviewed, then placed in a program depending on past credits, jobs, talents, unusual life experiences. The student begins by making contracts with his faculty adviser, each contract running for three months. Each contract sketches out goals to be reached. For instance a student studying some aspect of sociology will state what books he will read, reports he will write, courses he'll take, laboratory work and so forth. The student probably will work through three or four contracts per year, and these contracts in turn will be part of a coordinated educational plan originally created by the student. Up to now there has been a good deal of personal contact between students and teachers, but with expected rapid expansion Empire State is standardizing its contract concept, making each contract into a package or module. In the future when a student says he's interested in witchcraft the teacher will hand him the witchcraft module contract and it will tell him what books to read, courses to take, tests, etc.

Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont runs one of the oldest of these experimental off-campus programs. Students in Goddard's adult degree program come to Vermont every six months for a two-week residency when they go over study plans, draw up new ones and take courses.

In addition Goddard offers an unusual masters program; it also is based largely on independent study and takes 12 to 18 months to complete. (The cost is $2000 for the first year and $1000 each year thereafter.) A prospective student is put in touch with one of several regional directors. The regional director meets several times with the prospective student and discusses with him the outline for a study plan. Then the student is asked to suggest an individual whom Goddard can hire as his field faculty or study supervisor. The field faculty member may be an academic, but more likely is in some occupation where he can directly help the student. Goddard pays the field faculty member $600 a year to oversee the student's work. After choosing the field faculty, the student, regional director and the study supervisor work up the final details of the study. The study plan is meant to be a fairly elaborate document drawn up over a considerable period of time; it is one of the devices Goddard uses to screen out those who lose interest in independent study. Even so, during the first six months, either the student or the field faculty member can back out of the contract if he thinks it doesn't work, and the process begins all over again.

Goddard has regional representatives at Boston, Philadelphia, Washington and San Francisco. At Bos-

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ton where the program is most thoroughly developed there are 35 students enrolled. Craig Eisendrath, Goddard's new regional director in Washington, works out of his apartment. He is responsible for students in the Southeast and is on the phone or makes periodic trips to keep in touch. One student who lives in Atlanta consults with Eisendrath by phone and meets with her faculty adviser, an official in the Department of Labor, when she flies to Washington on business.

Corinne Fleisher, who teaches 12th-grade English in the Maryland public schools, is one of the students who reports to Eisendrath. She did undergraduate work more than 10 years ago at the University of Maryland and considered taking an MA there as well. She wants an MA because it means an automatic increase in salary and because it will help to open up more teaching opportunities. Taking the degree at Maryland would have meant quitting work for a year and losing her salary, about $12,000 in her case. "I can't afford it," she says.

Ms. Fleisher's study parallels and undergirds her regular job. She's been a 12th-grade English teacher for eight years. The school where she teaches offers students a wide range of electives and she now is trying to introduce a new humanities program. Because it is a masters program, this effort is conducted on a much wider scale than it might have been. For example she is personally investigating programs at different schools and is making a historical study of experimental education programs. She reads extensively and keeps a journal of her readings and experiences. About once a week she meets with the field faculty adviser, Dr. Arthur Adkins, who is a professor of education at the University of Maryland. They go over the work together. In addition she sends a copy of her journal to Eisendrath who offers suggestions.

Brother Laughlin Sofield of the Mission Service of the Most Holy Trinity, recently completed his MA through the Goddard program. He had worked 10 years previously in settlement houses and with the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Then he got a BA through Goddard's adult education program and immediately went into the MA program. Brother Laughlin's study concentrated on counseling and various forms of psychiatric therapy. He persuaded Dr. Angelo D'Agostino, a Catholic psychiatrist, to act as his field faculty. Under D'Agostino's supervision he set out to take courses at the Psychiatric Institute Foundation, a nonprofit organization attached to the institute where D'Agostino practiced. Brother Laughlin attended lectures and worked as a co-leader of different therapy groups. He ran groups at detention centers in Maryland and later in the psychiatric ward of a Washington hospital. In addition he studied at a child guidance center in Philadelphia, which helped him learn to administer and evaluate various psychological tests. He attended courses in religion and psychiatry at Fairfield University in Connecticut. As research assistant to D'Agostino he pushed on with a project to identify and publish listings of all counseling and psychiatric centers available to the Catholic clergy.

Most of these programs depend on a fair amount of initiative by individual students. Students who are not used to working on their own may find themselves bewildered. While Ms. Fleischer says she did not want to go to class and likes being left alone to develop her study, she also misses the contact with other students she would have on a traditional university campus.

Mining Coal Because It Is There

Stripping the Prairies

by Peter Barnes

Billings, Montana

Under the rolling plains of eastern Montana, Wyoming and the Dakotas is one of the world's last great energy reserves—nearly a trillion tons of lignite and subbituminous coal, about 35 billion of which are readily strippable. Lewis and Clark first noted the coalbeds a century and a half ago, but they were far from energy consumption centers and remained largely forgotten until the late 1960s. Then, with little public awareness, giant energy companies began gobbling up coal leases and water rights and laying plans for strip mining, coal burning and coal gasification on a massive scale—plans which if implemented will radically alter the landscape and economy of the northern plains.

The energy companies' sudden interest in prairie

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coal was stimulated by several concurrent happenings: rising urban smog levels which have made high-sulfur Appalachian coal unburnable in many cities; recent federal mine safety laws, which have made deep-mined coal more expensive to get at; and the soaring demand for fossil fuels, especially natural gas. Prairie coal is not only low in sulfur but cheap to mine (it comes in thick seams with shallow overburdens). It converts nicely to pipeline-quality gas. And it was ripe for the taking.

The major owners of coal rights in the northern plains are, or were, the federal government, the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Indians and the Burlington Northern railroad. The federal government until recently was eager to dispose of its coal rights with no environmental impact studies and with little regard for monopolistic control of competing fuel sources by oil companies. Until it stopped granting leases in 1971 pending further policy studies, the Interior Department had issued perpetual mining leases or exploratory permits on 323,000 acres of coal lands in Montana, Wyoming and North Dakota. The standard price for these coal rights was one dollar an acre per year plus 17½ cents per ton of coal mined, plus, in a few cases, initial bonuses ranging up to a few hundred dollars per acre. (An acre of prairie coal land, depending on the thickness of the seam, can yield anywhere from 10,000 to 100,000 tons of coal, worth two to three dollars a ton at the mine mouth.) The companies acquiring federal leases included Exxon, Mobil, Gulf, Atlantic-Richfield, Continental Oil, Sun Oil, Kerr-McGee and Peabody Coal.

The Crows of southeastern Montana own coal rights both on and off the reservation. With encouragement from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they and the Northern Cheyennes sold mining leases and exploratory permits on 517,000 acres at about the same prices as the federal government. In one 1970 deal the Crows sold coal rights under 31,000 acres to Westmoreland Resources, an independent coal company, for $450,000, or about $15 an acre. On much of this land white ranchers have owned surface rights for three or four generations. Montana law gives owners of mineral rights the power to condemn surface lands necessary to their mining operations. Westmoreland has used this power to drive out ranchers around Sarpy Creek, 100 miles southeast of Billings, and plans to begin strip mining there next year.

The enormous mineral holdings of the Burlington Northern are the legacy of the 40 million acre land grant to the Northern Pacific, stretching in a checkerboard pattern from Minnesota to the Oregon and Washington coast. Though much of that land was sold off, the Burlington Northern retains 2.4 million acres of surface rights plus 6.1 million acres of mineral rights. (Keep in mind that the size of Rhode Island is 768,000 acres, of New Jersey 4.8 million acres.) The railroad estimates that its land contains 11 billion tons of recoverable coal. It has leased about half of that at undisclosed prices to Continental Oil, Peabody Coal and other energy companies and intends to keep on leasing. "Coal is the 'now' energy source," says BN assistant vice president for minerals Ernest Thurlow.

The amassing of coal rights is one part of the picture. The other is water, which is essential to coal-fired generating and gasification plants. Water is a scarce commodity in the arid West and generally has to be stored and transported by government-built dams and aqueducts. The agency that builds dams and dispenses water rights—the Bureau of Reclamation—is enthusiastically in favor of rapid coal development. As the need for additional irrigated farmland disappears, the bureau must find other justifications for new projects. Development of coal resources is an ideal one. The bureau talks of diverting water from the Yellowstone, Bighorn and other rivers to the coal-rich basin between Gillette, Wyoming and Colstrip, Montana. Though aqueducts have not yet been built, the bureau has sold 10-year options on 700,000 acre feet of water to a dozen oil, gas and coal companies, including Exxon, Gulf, Shell, Mobil, Sun, Kerr-McGee, Westmoreland, Peabody and Colorado Interstate Gas. Westmoreland's water had previously been reserved for agricultural use by the Crows.

With the basic resources—coal and water—largely locked up by energy companies, the future of the northern plains depends on what those companies are allowed to do. A vision of what could be in store is contained in the 1971 North Central Power Study, conducted by the Bureau of Reclamation in collaboration with 35 electric utilities. The NCPS proposed construction of 42 mine-mouth generating plants that would be fueled with strip-mined coal and cooled with government-transported water. These plants would generate 400 billion kilowatts of electricity annually, more than is currently produced by any country in the world save the US and Russia. They would require 210 million tons of strip-mined coal and 2.6 million acre feet of water per year, or about one-third the average flow of the Yellowstone River. Electricity generated by the plants would travel by high-voltage transmission lines to St. Louis, Kansas City, Minneapolis-St. Paul and other Midwest cities, and west to Seattle and Portland. In all probability the NCPS plan will never be fully implemented, but even partial implementation would dwarf the mine-mouth complex currently being built in the Four Corners area of the Southwest.

Besides electricity generation, the energy companies are talking about building scores of plants to convert strip-mined coal into pipeline gas. The impact of all these energy-exporting plans would be tremendous. The strip mining necessary to feed the generating and gasification facilities would devour hundreds of thousands of acres. Though restoration of strip-mined land is theoretically possible, it is exceptionally difficult in

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arid areas. Smoke from coal-fired generating plants, though relatively low in sulfur, would pour an enormous amount of pollutants into the clear Big Sky, causing unknowable damage to downwind agriculture. The Environmental Defense Fund estimates that the 42 plants envisioned by the NCPS would emit more sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides and fly ash than are currently emitted by all sources in New York City and Los Angeles combined. Ranching, farming and recreation would also be affected by the diversion of scarce water for industrial purposes. Construction and operation of mines and plants would bring in hundreds of thousands of new residents, more than quadrupling the population of the coal-bearing area. Along with rapid population growth would come trailer camps, tract homes, highways, inflated land prices, higher taxes and a host of social problems that have thus far eluded small towns and rural areas.

The reaction of prairie residents to these potential changes is divided. Many local businessmen welcome the imminent transition from a slow agriculturally based economy to an energy exporting one; they feel it will be good for jobs and profits. Some old-time ranchers, while not enthusiastic, accept the coal rush as inevitable and have sold or leased their land to energy companies for slightly more than its value as ranchland. A good many ranchers, young people and others, however, are fighting mad. Their ancestors homesteaded this land and they want their children to go on farming it. They like its unspoiled vistas, free-flowing rivers, fish and wildlife. They find it difficult to believe that cattle and wheat and rural values can coexist with strip-mining and coal-burning industry, and they worry about what will happen when the coal is all gone. What will then become of the unemployed workers, the abandoned power plants, the piles of overburden, dammed rivers and empty pipelines? "Don't underestimate us," warns Carolyn Alderson, wife of a Wyoming rancher. "Don't lump us with the topsoil, as overburden to be tossed aside. We are descendants of those who fought for this land and we are prepared to do it again."

Resistance is taking shape in several ways. Farmers, ranchers, conservationists and others have formed a regional coalition called the Northern Plains Resources Council to seek a moratorium on coal development until strict environmental safeguards are adopted, a position also taken by the Farmers Union and many national environmental organizations. The Northern Cheyennes have had second thoughts about Continental Oil's proposal to build four gasification plants on their reservation, have postponed negotiations and decided to draft their own environmental code (Indian reservations are not covered by federal or state environmental laws).

Public officials have grown wary too; they've seen the fate of Appalachia and earlier mining ventures in the West and don't want a repetition. "Coal development represents a continuation of what has been the traditional history of Montana—exploitation of its resources with a minimum of economic benefit to the state," says Montana Lands Commissioner Ted Schwinden. Tom Judge, the newly elected Democratic governor of Montana, has called for an increased tax on coal and "the strongest strip mining control regulations in the history of this country." Pending in the state legislatures of Montana, Wyoming and North Dakota are bills that would require the issuance of annual—and revocable—permits to strip miners, impose strict reclamation standards, revise the eminent domain laws (now stacked in favor of sub-surface rights owners) and boost severance taxes on extraction of minerals. Another proposal would create local publicly owned energy districts with popularly elected directors that could own coal land, build generators and sell electric power. The districts would operate under environmental rules that reflected local concerns, and would retain their profits for local public purposes.

Whatever happens to these state-level bills—and they all face stiff opposition from private energy interests—the deeper questions raised by the prairie coal rush have to do with national energy policy and the relation between people, corporations and government. Sooner or later sources of energy will be developed that don't ravage land, air and water—but why not sooner rather than later? Most government and corporate thinking seems to presume that fossil fuels, because they are there, must be exploited. Thus the federal government subsidizes coal gasification and liquification research (a subsidy that the energy corporations, who'll make billions off the processes, hardly need) but shows only passing interest in fusion, solar, wind and other nonpolluting hydrocarbon substitutes. Development of technology that would make fossil fuel utilization more efficient—coal-burning generators waste about 60 percent of coal's energy, and big automobile engines are notoriously wasteful of petroleum—is also low on the federal priority list.

And what of the people's right to participate in decisions that affect their lives in fundamental ways? Energy companies have already scarred Appalachia and sullied the Southwest without much compassion for, or consultation with, the residents of those regions. The citizens of the northern plains now appear to be equally at the mercy of absentee corporations. The owners of most mineral and condemnation rights are outsiders who pay little in the way of property or severance taxes, and royalties mostly to the federal government and a private railroad. Federal agencies such as the Bureau of Reclamation have their own interests to look after. State governments offer the most hope, but state officials are all too often connected with or influenced by outside corporations. Some form of local public ownership of basic resources might be an answer, but it is a distant possibility at best.

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Stanley Kauffmann on theater

Outcry

(Lyceum)

The Tooth of Crime

(Performing Garage)

When realist playwrights die, they become symbolists. Among contemporaries, Edward Albee is only one who proves this historical principle. Now Tennessee Williams, a much more romantic realist than Albee (and a much more gifted one), moves from his familiar terrain of seamy rhapsody to the gauzy blue blue sky. His last play *Small Craft Warnings* (*TNR*, April 29, '72; March 17, '73) was a sterile reworking of his lyricism of the lonely; his new play, *Outcry*, changes style but has much smaller craft.

Two actors, a brother and sister, are stranded in a "state theater of a state unknown." Their company has abandoned them as insane. There is no one else backstage. Ostensibly an audience—ourselves—has gathered in front, though this is not definite. Brother and sister are forced to perform for us; they do something called *The Two-Character Play*, moving in and out of it so that there is no clear border between the play-within-a-play and their private realities. Doubt gathers about their sanity. They may not even be in a theater; the whole setting, Jo Mielziner's airy sketch of a theater, may be part of their fantasy. They may really be the children of the two parents described in the "play," the man of whom has just shot his wife and killed himself.

On paper it suggests, inevitably, Pirandello, and sounds intriguing. In proof it is an excruciating two-hour bore because Williams has only vague ideas about why he is bothering to write it. There is no affective design, no tension, no *point*, not even any stimulating ambiguity. We are given only a series of data, arbitrarily streaked—like a larded roast—with stripes of passion and torment. None of this anguish or heat ever has the slightest power on us because no ground is laid with us for sympathy or expectation. Williams simply provides a sequence of arbitrary moments, enclosed in a fancy: symbolism that asks for effect just because it *is* symbolism, rather reminiscent of little-theater pieces of the '20s.

The most grievous disappointment is in the writing and in the roles as theatrical entities. Up to now, as we watched Williams' sad descent, we have usually had the consolation that he still had a gift for good theater language; but the dialogue in this play is on the level of "You have the face of an angel." The roles, both of them, are just bundles of spurts and relaxations, unrelated to facts as we can see them or fantasies as we can follow them.

I suppose that Williams has earned the right to have everything he writes produced—the idea of an unproduced Williams play still seems somehow discourteous—but he is trying this right severely.

The producer is trying it, too. One of the two roles, the brother, is well cast. Michael York is a good actor (he was the best one in the film of *Cabaret*) with a striking theater face and a useful voice, but I wish I hadn't seen him in this play. It's like hearing a pianist, after a moving recital, expend the same emotion on empty exercises. The other role—50 percent of the cast—is given to Cara Duff-McCormick, who is incompetent in every possible regard. Peter Glenville, the drayhorse director, plodded true to form; but in this case he did have a fearful burden to carry.

Sam Shepard is, to put it somewhat inaccurately, the Tennessee Williams of today. He is the most talented of his generation, he relies heavily on language to make his drama, he has a vivid theatrical sense, his subjects tend to be nonurban, he strikes toward elemental passion, and he sometimes makes you impatient with his fooling around. He got extravagant praise for his best play *La Turista*, he wrote (or wrote on) the poor script for Antonioni's *Zabriskie Point*, he has torn off strips of fitfully effective rhetoric about aspects of our apocalypse, but (unlike Williams) he has so far not worked hard enough to produce one fully realized play.

Shepard's latest is *The Tooth of Crime*, and it's just one long, long metaphor. A big pop music star feels he is getting old, and slipping (although of course he's young by any standard other than the pop world's). A younger singer comes along and displaces him. This changeover is put in an old gangster-film framework: the hood in his lush hangout with his henchpeople, the challenger who is taken on as favorite disciple, and finally kills the boss. The language—so far as I, in my ignorance, know—is that of the pop world, but the shapes and currents of action are pure *Little Caesar*. The final "shootout" is a verbal duel, in which each of the two contenders takes turns at extended rhetorical arias. The young man beats the star, who then puts a pistol in his mouth.

The theme clearly is that the blind but powerful forces of our age have hyped everybody up, have turned entertainers into ravenous beasts because they sense the ravening bestiality of the fickle public, and that the inhabitants of the

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie. Buñuel, apparently getting younger, mocks the fantasies of the stuffily corrupt with pitiless wit.

The Emigrants. Liv Ullmann. Max von Sydow. If that's not enough, some truth about 19th-century Sweden that drove people to the US.

Jeremiah Johnson. Robert Redford as a trapper in the Rockies 130 years ago, in a picture of exceptional authenticity.

Painters Painting. Articulate interviews with 13 US artists and some other art-world figures. Fascinating. A lot of painting included—in decent color.

Payday. Rip Torn as a country-music singing star in the last epitomic days of his crazy life. American culture, sharply sliced.

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Traffic. Jacques Tati's latest comedy is his best: a balletic spoof about auto madness. Actually more to be looked at than laughed at.

SK

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Crawford Woods on TV

The Louds

In a perverse way, "An American Family" actually *is* one of the most important things now taking place on television, and possibly one of the most important things television has done. This, despite the praise, blame and publicity showered on the series in recent weeks; despite the enticing bogus aura of "controversy"; and even despite the fact that it's frequently boring. It's an authentic happening on the public stage of popular culture, to which we are summoned by the producer's threatening p.r.: ARE YOU READY FOR THE LOUDS? In translation: are you ready to hold a cathode-ray mirror up to nature—assuming nature can be summed up in a middle-class family of seven from Santa Barbara, now baring all (well, almost all) each Thursday evening on your lying, prying screen?

Surely no introduction is necessary. Pat and Bill Loud and all the little Louds are *famous*. A delightful, only-in-America scenario presents itself: will the Louds eventually appear on TV to promote the book they'll write about having been on TV? And why not?

A word from Gay Talese: "One must be *seen* to exist, for now there is no other proof. There is no longer an identity in craft, only in self-promotion. There are no acts, only scenes."

The scenes in "An American Family" are familiar enough, assuming the viewer is more or less a middle-class WASP; a dangerous assumption for a mass medium to make, but the only one that will justify the series. The wife is pretty and fatigued, the husband bluff and charming, the children lost in one trite rebel pose or other. There's nothing very special about the details of their lives, though there's often something very sad. And there's nothing distinguished about the recording of them—it's as though the producer of the shows was determined that no hint of art should intrude to falsify the flat naturalism of his real-life story. Perhaps that's in itself an artful decision, for in real life, there are no roles larger than our own; so—whatever the Louds' motives originally were for giving their lives to the medium, and whatever the producer may think is the show's relationship to art and life, for most viewers of the show the response is likely to be: just like me! isn't it familiar? isn't it *real?*

Well, yes and no, and mostly no. An old principle of the natural sciences offers itself here: the observed is never wholly independent of the observer—from which it follows that the more independent the observed manages to be, the more nearly we will reach the truth about it. Thus the reality of the series differs sharply from the reality of its subject. Consider the various editing processes alone.

One: the Louds inevitably edit their behavior as the cameras roll. Two: the producer edits what the cameras see (in this case, 300 hours of film cut to 12). Three: the viewer edits the film shown with the scissors of his own perception. So we're back in Plato's cave, and what we have in the end is a long way from the thing-in-itself. Which means, inevitably, that the series on one level has to be judged as a work of art or artifice; and there it fails rather badly. Art enhances life. This replaces it. Thus there's something philistine about it; it's a service for people who distrust art, even the watery art of TV drama. And something of the preciousness inherent in all experimentation clings stickily to these films, partially barring sympathetic entry.

It's expressed in the glib satisfaction the producer feels in the series (which the Louds, incidentally, largely hate). Craig Gilbert has patted the family in a condescending way, calling them "incredibly human" (maybe he was expecting mandrills?), and the lesson he draws from his own series is a muddy one: "What's happening to us is what's happening in this country." Huh? Pat Loud herself tends to think in dangerously pliable clichés; on the Cavett show, she mouthed with great poise phrases like "common tendencies in all family dynamics" and "breakdown in communications."

Indeed an excess of protective poise is one of this family's problems. Bill Loud seems the sort of guy who greets the most hellish crisis with a smile and a handshake. Eldest son Lance has the grace of a good actor. And the younger kids, despite a fashionable spray of hair and tie-dye, are as mannerly as Rotarians. Obviously the parents don't "understand" the kids and the kids don't "understand" the parents, but so the hell what? Did we need a million bucks' worth of home movie to reiterate the generation gap?

Maybe so. Let me plunder *Time* for views from psychologists and such, at least some of whom feel the series has performed a signal, rather grisly service.

". . . a lot of American families . . . would let this happen. It is a compulsion of this culture—the compulsion to confess."

"It is not just the Louds being depicted. The series shows how people tune out the guts of their lives. That's going on today in epidemic form."

"It's a sample of one. All the talk about the show's meaning is ill-founded. It is a single family portrait and nothing more."

". . . a tendency toward exhibitionism . . . already on the way to becoming a non-family. The very act of being filmed for public television makes the Louds atypical."

Adds Lance Loud (who calls his parents Blondie and Dagwood) most tellingly: "The series was the fulfillment of the middle-class dream that you can become famous for being just what you are."

One must be *seen* to exist . . .

In the end, though, being seen is not existence enough. I think Pat Loud was justified when she complained "We've lost dignity and been humiliated." For example, to run a few seconds' preview at the end of one show of the divorce that's to occupy the next is a cheap shot to make the viewer say, "Damn, gotta see that one!" Like those old movie posters for horror matinees. SEE the giant squid eat the Empire State. SEE the sacrificial rites of the space virgins. SEE worlds in collision. As though to see were to understand.

It's worth wondering whether the Louds are now better able to understand themselves. Certainly their lives have been pushed by the series in directions they might or might not have taken otherwise; there's no telling. But the social scientist who noted that the Louds, in permitting their lives to be shared with and shaped by the camera, had made themselves atypical of other families failed to complete the thought: it also made the Louds atypical of themselves. Even now, they watch the series each Thursday night, and their ongoing lives are changed thereby.

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Labor's Journalist

Labor at the Rubicon

by J. B. S. Hardman with the editorial collaboration of Virginia M. Hardman

(New York University Press; $6.95)

Newcomers to one of the frequent evenings of vigorous talk at J. B. S. Hardman's apartment in Greenwich Village would eventually be asked by their host if they wished to see a picture of his last home in Russia. The answer was necessarily yes, and J. B. would take the visitor over to his huge desk, brush away some of the litter of books and papers, and point through the glass top to a picture of the Peter-and-Paul prison in Petrograd. The date of his departure was 1908. At 25, he was already a veteran of the social democratic movement in Russia; he had participated in the famous London conference of 1903, when the movement split into a Bolshevik wing headed by Lenin and a Menshevik wing headed by Martov. He had known Lenin and Krupskaya, Trotsky, even the young hoodlum Stalin; he once explained the results of the London vote by the fact that only Gorky had any money, and Gorky as a good Bolshevik had declared himself willing to feed all those, and only those, who would stand on Lenin's side.

Though J. B. acquired the revolutionary soubriquet "Hardman," which he used in all his English-language work (in the Yiddish press he used his real name, Jacob Benjamin Salutsky), he was part of the "soft" Menshevik faction; his anti-Stalinism in the 1940s was a continuation of a lifelong attitude. He liked to tell a story about a young cousin who apologized to him in the early 1950s: "I feel awful, J. B., for all those nasty things I've said about you. I thought you were a traitor—and now I find out you were *always* a fink."

Arriving in the United States after a brief stay in France, J. B. tied onto the American labor movement and became the most distinguished labor journalist this country has known. He was for a quarter of a century editor of *The Advance*, the newspaper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and though he was known to be skeptical about John L. Lewis (whom he believed, and wrote, had virtually destroyed the United Mine Workers through incorrect tactics in the 1920s), he was summoned by Phil Murray to set up the first newspaper for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in 1936. Murray later used him as a troubleshooter in the rough days in Akron when the hillbilly rubber workers were placing machine guns on roofs as part of *their* organizing drive. But in the labor movement a man must have a home; J. B.'s was the Amalgamated, and when he split with Sidney Hillman over Hillman's continuing support of the Stalinist-dominated American Labor Party he was in effect pushed out to the university world.

Under the umbrella of Columbia University, which insulated J. B. from the source of the funds, a Rockefeller grant established an Inter-Union Institute for him to direct, and under the auspices of this institute he began to publish *Labor & Nation*, the first and only scholarly magazine of the labor movement. In 1948, 20 years old and 18 months out of college, I was hired to be its assistant editor. Among the hangers-on at J. B.'s desk at the time were C. Wright Mills, then a naive fat boy from Texas trying to learn something about the labor movement, and Louis Harris, who was trying out techniques of opinion polling with labor leaders. Bulk subscriptions from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the United Automobile Workers gave the magazine a deceptively large circulation figure; and

Jim Vanya

Jim Vanya is dead,
Dead in the crazy house.
I read it in the paper.

He won't be coming home anymore
To sit in the kitchen
With his two tiny sisters
Who wore, always,
In spite of family troubles,
Faces like valentines.

Jim Vanya is dead.
He won't be home anymore
With his cheeks of black bristles,
And his eyes staring off
Over everyone's shoulder,
And his voice like a dog's
When the moon was full.

I remember, Grandma said
He used to go to school.
He used to cut our grass.
Imagine!
Then he got sick.

And now he's dead.

The sisters sit in the kitchen
In new black dresses.
The Church sweeps its floor.
Some workmen dig a hole in the hard ground.

Neatly they square the corners, and curse the cold.

MARY OLIVER

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there were other unions, notably the Textile Workers, where it was considered good form for a business agent to have the most recent issue of *Labor & Nation* on his desk. But nobody could make him read it, and when J. B. found that the magazine was being used almost exclusively by graduate students he let it die. This gave him time to complete his book *The House of Labor*, published in 1951, and then left him rather at loose ends, 70 years old, pensioned, then widowed, in his own eyes unemployed.

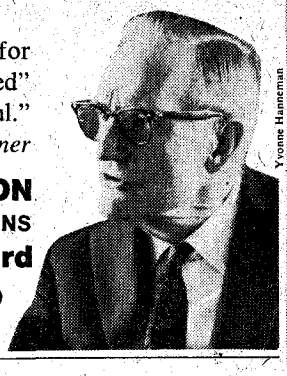
Some of us urged him to write what would surely have been among the most interesting memoirs of our time, but his interests were in the future, and in the young. He worked on, continually revising papers which drew on his experience only for present purposes. The poet Virginia Mishnun became his assistant, companion and ultimately his second wife. Now, four-and-a-half years after his death, she has pulled together, under one of J. B.'s favorite working titles, this sampling of the work of her husband's last years.

Though one regrets the memoirs lost—and the presence here of some dozens of pages of reportage on old conventions obviously included only to permit the publisher to say the book is "about" union democracy—*Labor at the Rubicon* is an important collection of papers. Writing before the 1968 elections, J. B. foresaw, on the dark side of his vision, what would happen in 1972 if the split between the labor movement and the intellectual community was not healed. "Today," he wrote in 1967 (!), "too many union members dismiss student activists as the children of affluence playing at revolution; and too many students dismiss the union members as middle-class defenders of the Establishment. Both need to know the other better. . . . Mutual understanding in depth, on the part of unionism and the universities, is demanded by their common stake in the survival of intelligence and

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

CRAWFORD WOODS *free-lances from El Prado, NM.* MARTIN MAYER's *latest book is* About Television. *Poet* MARY OLIVER's *latest volume is* The River Styx, Ohio. JAMES WALT *teaches English at the University of Maryland.* HELEN F. SNOW *has just completed a return visit to China, where she had lived and worked in the '30s. Her books include* Women in Modern China.

A distinguished American eloquently calls for the emergence of a humanistic, "person-oriented" society. Honest, open-minded and thoughtful."
—*John W. Gardner*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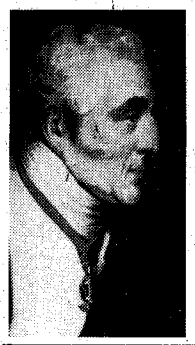

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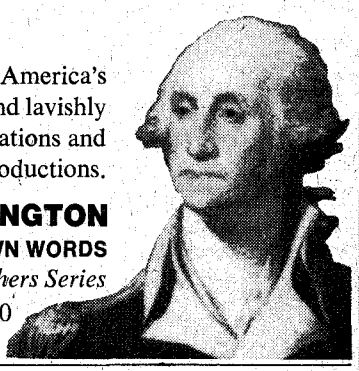

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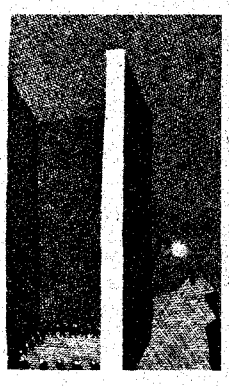

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democratic processes . . ."

For J. B., the labor movement consisted of workingmen and all others who identified with their cause, and its growth was the great historical phenomenon of the century. "Quite apart from being an economic undertaking which each union pursues in its own way as an individual entity," he wrote, "unionism as a whole is also a cause and a faith which lend informal but vital authority to the power of organization." Though unions "are influenced by the very environment they seek to alter," they are also, in J. B.'s vision, necessarily progressive, the means by which ordinary people can participate *forcefully* (and democratically) in the economic life which is inescapably the center of their personal life. "Despite their conservative instincts, or perhaps due to them, the unions have exerted a revolutionizing influence. . . . This should be evident to anyone capable of discerning the long-term consequences of seemingly small events and of discriminating between what is real and what is readily visible."

Writing came hard to J. B., forever scrawling in an electric blue ink and pasting third thoughts atop second thoughts already pasted on the page. But he was a phrase-maker and a phrase-user (his favorite sources were Justice Holmes and Abraham Lincoln but there is also here what J.B. called a "compelling sentence" from Daniel De Leon: "When you say organization, you say leadership"). His vision took in generations. He saw great causes that should still mobilize the united efforts of idealist and workingman: the organization of the unorganized, and the elevation of the (mostly black) lumpenproletariat whose presence in the society could threaten both unionism and civilization.

Structurally, J. B. feared the collapse of the democratic legislature before the authoritarian executive and judicial branches—a collapse caused in large part, he felt, by the failure of districting to give congressmen recognizable constituencies to which they could respond. "When groups of voters call on a member of Congress to secure his support or opposition on a particular legislative measure, they are generally not comprised of neighborhood groups, but of persons from across the country bound by a common interest. . . . A member of Congress cannot tell whether these visitors represent a majority or minority of his own state or district. . . . Even if all of the long-overdue reforms of Congress, including reform of the seniority and committee systems, were carried out, this central problem would remain."

Intellectually J. B. saw danger in "moral fanaticism," and in "the lack of intellectual stamina, evident both in the self-protective withdrawal into isolationism and in the self-destructive rage of unreason. . . . We live at a time when vocal minorities, claiming moral superiority, rely increasingly on force to achieve spurious victories. . . . Americans appear bewildered by the apparent loss of their once characteristic urge to move on, try the unknown, reach for the stars. . . . Labor's trouble, like the country's [has been] failure . . . to equate enhanced power and standing with supporting intellectual force. This is in large measure a crisis of culture."

But it was not in J. B. to be pessimistic. He was sure "that today's turmoil will soon cast up the kind of daring, intellectually and morally big leaders that the people of America so desperately await." At the end of this brief book Virginia Hardman prints a page found on J. B.'s desk after his death, a testament called "What I Have Learned." In it, J. B. gave thanks for having "learned to unlearn," citing a Russian proverb about "Live long, forever learn, die a fool." The stream of life was still there, where Heraclitus put it so long ago.

Martin Mayer

Seizing God's Powers

The Gasp

by Romain Gary

(Putnam; $6.95)

Jules Verne, a pioneer in science fiction who saw utopia emerging as scientific genius, created bigger and better machines, insisted that even his most romantic stories never outraged the laws of physics. But H. G. Wells, Verne noted a bit peevishly, was a fantasist who'd snubbed the law of gravitation when he wrote *The First Men in the Moon*. Romain Gary here follows the Wellsian lead by introducing a hero-scientist more akin to Merlin than to Newton or Fermi. Mathieu, Gary's Merlin, is a French-born professor, Casanovan in his tastes and for that reason, perhaps, fascinated with the sources of energy. With the help of collaborators he brings to light a cheap and interminable energy—a yield obtained from the breath of the dying. Does the tiny, leaping ball which holds this yield and is called the gasp imprison the souls of the dead and force them into permanent slave labor?

Arguing that science has turned from the body-snatching doctors once indulged in to the profanation of soul-snatching, certain cardinals wring their hands and deplore this encroachment on God's powers. But China's military recognize that their vast population and unequaled mortality rate offer an awesome energy-producing source and they begin to build a giant reactor with the intention of crushing, then ruling, the rest of the world. Russia soon pins back the ears of these warlords. Unfortunately the threats obliterated in China turn up in Albania, which sets out blindly on an experiment that would carry nuclear death across the globe.

In his autobiography, *Promise at Dawn*, Gary lit into Germany's infatuation with "pure research and technology" and pictured Totoche, the god of Stupidity, smiling approvingly at the nuclear scientists. Confessed humanist that he is, Gary finds the scientists who work today on nuclear devices similarly infatuated; they wouldn't mind creating worldwide havoc if the creativity gave free play to their genius. This bitterness against the scientists resembles Wells' jaundiced view of the esthetes and pseudo-artists of the Wilde-Beardsley era. One such artist, a cook who delights in the unchecked expression of

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his genius, boasts in a Wells dialogue: "If I needed a flavour of almonds and had nothing else to hand, I would use prussic acid." In short, the means justify any end even if it is the smashup that a bored Dorian Gray fondly called *fin du monde*.

Novels like Wells' *The War of the Worlds* were aimed at shaking up complacent Englishmen who thought the size of the Empire was the measure of its strength and durability. Whether Americans have to be shaken up further after the lesson of Vietnam is debatable, but Gary is trying. Unfortunately he has harnessed his message to a novel that manages to be lackluster in spite of its abundant epigrams, in spite even of hints that he once had a passion for ideas. Mathieu, the scientist who climbs down from his arrogance and gives forth with heartfelt *mea culpas* before he dies, is only a gray shadow beside the saintly, full-blooded Morel of *The Roots of Heaven*—the Equatorial African elephants' avenger. Gary himself, as portrayed in *Promise at Dawn*, and the mother whose love was so encompassing, so unselfish, and so dangerous that he drifted from one overnight affair to another searching for her equal—not Gary nor anyone in *The Gasp* approaches the solidity or complexity of these real-life figures or raises so many questions about the miracle of human endurance.

James Walt

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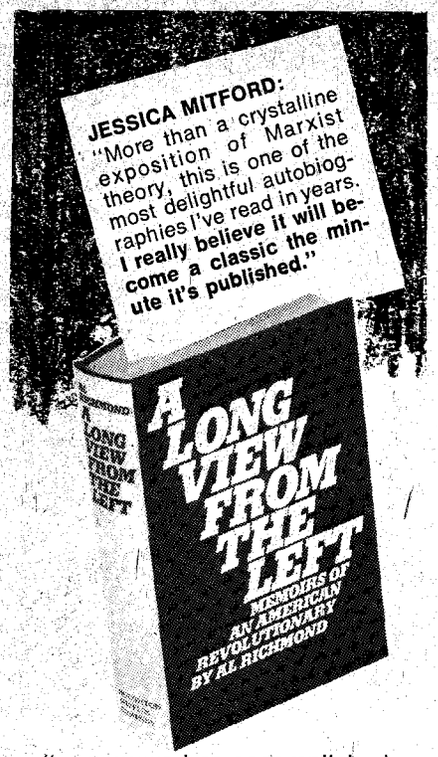
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Pearl S. Buck 1892-1973

"An Island in Time"

No one was more astonished by the fantastic popularity of *The Good Earth* than its author, Pearl S. Buck, then a university teacher in Nanking, where her husband, J. Lossing Buck, also taught. I arrived in China a few weeks after it appeared, in 1931. Neither the foreigners nor the Chinese liked it. The missionaries felt it lost them "face"; so did the nationalist Chinese, chiefly because of its "pornography." Yet for 40 years, the picture of China that was imprinted on the Western mind was the one Mrs. Buck had drawn. She must have got hold of a piece of the truth somewhere, I thought, if not about China then about humankind in a primitive setting.

After 1931, Pearl Buck was no longer welcome in China (she left permanently in 1934), except for a brief hiatus after 1949 when the Peking regime invited her back along with a few other foreigners (she did not accept). In 1972, when she tried to get a visa she was turned down because, said the Communists, her writing had "for a long time taken an attitude of distortion, smear and vilification toward the people of China and their leaders." Visiting Nanking, earlier this year, I wanted to photograph the house where *The Good Earth* had been written, but couldn't find it. The youthful Nanking information department had never heard of her or her book. I walked among the grey, shabby faculty houses at the University of Nanking realizing that whoever lived in Pearl Buck's historic house did not know it, or care.

Why do the Chinese resent her writing? The reason, I think, is one seldom stated: she violated some basic taboos, ancient and modern, about sex and childbirth. It was this, also, which helped make her a best seller in the West where she was among the first popular novelists to describe in detail childbirth and menstruation. To the Chinese she did not get at the essence of their civilization, the delicacy of human relations expressed in certain social taboos, especially in speech and writing. For example even today, one does not take a photograph of man and wife touching each other. (I tried it.) The Chinese feel Mrs. Buck degraded the dignity of Chinese women, which is ironic, since the chief appeal of her books in the West is to women. She was a maternal woman writing for women about the problems of women.

The Chinese Communists do not try to hide their poverty or the struggle against nature (locust invasions, famines) or the tragedy of peasant life under the "old society," and when Pearl Buck "speaks bitterness," they like it. It is Mao Tse-tung, after all, who insists that the intellectuals go down among the the peasants to learn the truth about them, *from* them. What the Chinese Communists *don't* like is Mrs. Buck's glorification of the worst features of the old society, especially that of the upper classes—concubinage, for instance, and the whole pattern of the old Confucian family system, the very things the Communists are trying to uproot forever. Her strongest theme—the "yearning for sons"—is what is still making it difficult to control overpopulation in China. It was Mrs. Buck who "yearned," not Chinese women. The wellspring of her writing was that she never had a normal child and was afraid she could not have one, though she did have one retarded child in 1921 and adopted nine more. (She told me that J. Lossing Buck did not tell her for years that his family had a history of retarded children.)

In *The Good Earth* Wang Lung finds some treasure, becomes prosperous, takes a second wife. But he had no class consciousness, the Communists say. They look upon this as a puerile plot (which it is, of course—the poor-boy-makes-good American story, without reality for the Chinese peasant). The real Chinese peasant was often in rebellion. And in fact he did bring about the revolution in China from 1927 to 1949. He was not, the Communists say, a lump of the good earth, but a "heroic" fighter in the "class struggle."

"But," I said to my Chinese hosts, "you have to remember that Pearl Buck made more friends for the Chinese than any other influence."

"But what kind of Chinese—and what use is that if it's all based on untruth? If she had told the truth, the books

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would not have been popular," was the rejoinder.

The Good Earth was written chiefly for money to support Mrs. Buck's child. Behind it was a very sophisticated editor who encouraged her in the new "naturalism" and who knew how to tailor books on China, including those of Lin Yutang. This was Richard J. Walsh, whom Pearl Buck married in 1935. It was one of the happiest and most successful literary teams of all time. They had first come to call on my husband (Edgar Snow) and me in Peking in 1934, during their extended courtship. They were both partners in several of my pioneer researches on China. They also supported the Gung Ho industrial cooperatives.

Pearl Buck had everything she wanted—except a normal child. And she wanted everything, as she used to say. She was an island, offshore to any land. She was also an island in time—far ahead of herself and yet isolated in a never-never past that had gone even when she lived in China.

Helen F. Snow

Correspondence

Volunteer Army

Sirs:

Mr. Califano failed to mention in his recent article ("Doubts About an All-Volunteer Army," *TNR*, March 3, 1973) the fundamental moral dilemma that an all-volunteer army has already raised.

Those economists who have argued for the volunteer army have, in one form or another, contended that such an army is "efficient" in the economic sense and "value free." Such an army, according to these analysts, distributes the costs more equitably among the members of society. And instead of using the poor to defend the rich, it enables the poor to improve their income position.

But the same economists would also agree on something like the following proposition. Any organization operating with a budget constraint and seeking to maximize some objective subject to that constraint will tend to substitute the less costly factors of production for dearer factors of production. Industrialists use capital when capital is cheap relative to labor, or labor when it is cheap relative to capital. And the Department of Defense will behave no differently.

The immediate impact of the volunteer army is to increase the labor cost relative to the capital cost. And the Department of Defense will react as any economist would predict—it will substitute capital for labor. Thus implicit in the argument for a volunteer army is an argument for a more capital intensive type of warfare.

And, this, of course, is what happened in Southern Asia. As the war "wound down" there was a shift away from a labor intensive type of warfare to a more capital intensive technology. The volunteers flew the B-52s and operated smart bombs, manned aircraft carriers and sophisticated electronic technology. The capital expenditure per unit of labor must have increased dramatically in the last four years of the war.

So a volunteer army and the capital intensive type of warfare it implies raises a question of morality of the greatest importance. Are all types of warfare equally immoral? Does bombing from 30,000 feet imply the same kind of moral question as hand-to-hand combat on the ground? If all war is equally immoral, then why not use atomic bombs—perhaps the most capital intensive of all?

Such an economist—whether liberal or conservative—is almost forced to argue that all wars are equally immoral and thus once a country is involved in a war, it should seek to achieve its objective as quickly as possible. And this would mean using a capital intensive type of warfare with the volunteer army.

As Califano points out, the American people refused to participate in a war which required the drafting of the nation's young men. They likewise refused to pay the taxes necessary to support the adventure. But the nation was quite willing to fight a capital intensive war manned by mercenaries and financed with a credit card. The draftee complaining every step of the way as he participates in a labor intensive war may be our best protection against future involvements.

John M. Kuhlman
University of Missouri-Columbia

Sirs:

Joseph A. Califano, Jr. cogently states the case against the volunteer army (*TNR*, March 3, 1973). As an army retiree with over 27 years service, I wish to add a few comments.

That the personnel of this force were not genuine volunteers became apparent by the summer of 1972. For even with pay increases of 1000 percent over 1936 rates, few men could be induced to enlist in the combat arms. In his determination to exempt the sons of the affluent middle and upper classes from military duty, President Nixon authorized a $1500 bonus for all men enlisted in one of the combat arms: infantry, artillery and armor. This enabled the army to fill the ranks with the sons of the poor and underprivileged. What had once been a national army representing all the American people became a mercenary force drawn from the lower classes. In 1974 alone this will cost the American taxpayer $12.3 billion for a force reduced by 1,314,000 men.

The consequences to the nation could be far greater. For it is a truism that no foreign policy can succeed unless the public is willing and able to back it up—if necessary with the lives of their ablest and dearest sons. The Vietnam war proves this thesis. Ninety-six percent of the combat "grunts" were draftees—the majority from the great American middle class. When casualties mounted in 1967-68 this dominant element became disillusioned and forced President Johnson into retirement. His successor decided by the fall of 1969 that, in order to appease his new middle-class majority, he had to eliminate the draft and replace it with a volunteer force. By design and incentive this new army was established to entice the poor and exempt the rich.

Like Mr. Califano, I am appalled that the antiwar congressmen, scholars and liberals opposed to the Vietnam war have overwhelmingly supported the concept of a voluntary army. Is it not apparent that the opposition to the war came chiefly from the great middle class whose sons were coming home in body bags? Do we not realize that an all-volunteer force consisting of the poor and near-poor will drastically reduce the need for future American presidents to be concerned about opposition from the more affluent and influential classes?

Edward E. Cruise
Chatham, NJ

COMING

Curtis B. Gans
reviews
volume II of
The Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson

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Moynihan on FAP

Sirs:

Senator Abraham Ribicoff is an old and close friend, and his review of my book *The Politics of A Guaranteed Income* (*TNR*, Feb. 17, 1973) is most friendly, even kindly, to me, and I have no complaints whatever on that score.

Nor would I in any way begrudge Senator Ribicoff his due in this history. From the point of view of those who might wish to see some form of guaranteed income established he was from first to last a superb advocate: self-effacing, serious and committed. My book seeks to make this clear, and readers of *The New Republic* will not have been misled if they gathered as much from the review.

Such readers, nonetheless, do have grounds for objection. The book I wrote simply is not the book which the reviewer describes. The book I wrote is an analysis—yet another, I suppose, but hopefully a useful one—of the policy-making processes of the national government. It is full of dense tables and complicated passages that are tedious and difficult to follow. No less a political scientist than John P. Roche has complained about the drudgery involved in getting through some of the chapters, but I expect even he would admit that in an underdeveloped profession, as in an underdeveloped economy, man earns his bread by the sweat of his brow.

In any event, the book has almost nothing to do with who is a good fellow and who is a bad fellow. Political scientists aren't really very interested in such questions and know very well that they have no professional grounds on which to judge them. I write all this because I would think there are a hundred or so readers of *The New Republic* who would be interested in the book I actually wrote, and might be put off the trail by the review. Correspondingly there must be thousands of readers who would want to read the nonexistent book that is reviewed, spurred, just possibly, by a prurient, antinomian desire to see virtue downtrodden and wickedness prevail. These readers would be led on most egregiously by *TNR*'s suggestion that the book can be had for $10. Books about good and evil go for $10, true enough. But books with dense tables and difficult-to-follow passages cost $15, which is the case with *The Politics of A Guaranteed Income*.

Concerning the point "He Left at Half Time" let me contend in my defense that I did so because the game was over. In July 1970, in a speech in Washington attempting to rally support for the Family Assistance Plan, I warned that if the bill were not enacted in that year it would not be enacted in this decade. I might have said this anyway, but I happened also to believe it. I felt many persons involved with the issue had taken the proposal for FAP as a sign that there had been a significant political movement toward measures of this kind, and that if the best possible bill could not be had in the 91st Congress, they could easily wait for the 92nd. This is not hyperbole. This was the declared strategy of many significant participants in the debate then underway. It happens that they were wrong and I knew they were wrong. Political scientists don't know much but sometimes we know more than some other people. The manuscript of *The Politics of A Guaranteed Income* was completed in September 1971, roughly nine months into the 92nd Congress. I described the events of the 91st Congress in some 550 pages. I then appended an Afterword of one and one-half pages in which I state that if the reader has followed the course of the first go-round, he would be able to predict the second. In the 91st Congress the House had passed Family Assistance by an almost two-to-one vote, but the Senate had never managed to organize itself even to vote on the question. (That is to say, a vote of the full body.) By the time my manuscript was completed, the House had already, for a second time, voted to approve Family Assistance, but nothing had changed in the Senate and it was clear to me at all events that once again it would never organize itself to take a vote of the full body on the bill. I accordingly concluded that there would be no legislation enacted by the 92nd Congress. No very great feat of analysis, perhaps, but sufficient for the purposes of present day political science, which has learned modesty the hard way. Political scientists are human and I did indulge a touch of feeling citing Marx's adage about the Napoleons: first time, tragedy; second time, farce. But even so I was hewing to the conclusions which my analysis indicated.

Two final points. Family Assistance was proposed as part of a general transformation of federal income maintenance programs which involved the establishment of national standards, and other important improvements, in the programs of Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanent and Totally Disabled. These reforms *were* enacted and constitute an achievement of considerable magnitude. Second, anyone who cares to know my views on the fortunes of FAP in the 92nd Congress can read them in a long article in the January 27th issue of *The New Yorker*.

Daniel P. Moynihan
New Delhi

Vietnam Aid

Sirs:

Somehow the debate on reconstruction aid for North Vietnam has been shaken loose from its juridical moorings in Article 21 of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. Article 21 obliges the United States to "Contribute to healing the wounds of war and to postwar reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and throughout Indochina." In other words, reconstruction aid is part of the bargain negotiated in Paris by Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho.

Almost all of the discussion of this issue, including your otherwise excellent "Rehabilitation of Vietnam" (*TNR*, March 3, 1973) treats the reconstruction question as if it were just another foreign aid controversy. As a technical matter President Nixon, as commander-in-chief, has the power to negotiate a cease-fire agreement that binds the nation without any congressional participation. It is true that constitutional lawyers might argue about whether the House is obligated to appropriate the money to implement such an agreement. As a practical matter, Congress has usually recognized that it would place the country in an untenable position if the President's negotiating credibility were to be undercut by a post-agreement refusal to implement specific provisions of a cease-fire and peace-restoring arrangement.

In any event the discussion should begin to take account of these juridical considerations. In my judgment it would be evidence of moral bankruptcy if Congress, which had acquiesced for so long in a war of dubious constitutionality and legality, would now suddenly and ironically assert itself in order to thwart the administration's long overdue apparent effort to end our combat role.

Richard A. Falk
Princeton University

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No-Fault

Sirs:

I enjoyed your article "Who Faults No-Fault?" (*TNR*, Jan. 20, 1973), but I want to set straight two inaccurate statements. First you identify my bill, HR 10, as a companion to the bill introduced by Senator Magnuson, S.354. Although the bills are similar, there is one extremely important difference between them.

S 354 sets forth standards which states must meet or exceed in enacting state no-fault motor vehicle insurance laws. If any state fails to adopt a similar version of no-fault within one legislative session after the Senate bill's passage, a federal no-fault program (set out in Title III of the Senate bill) will go into effect.

The Senate bill would bring about a tremendous improvement over the existing liability based motor vehicle accident compensation system. HR 10, however, is even a more affirmative means of serving the public's insurance needs.

If HR 10 becomes law there will be a simultaneous changeover to one uniform system of no-fault insurance throughout the United States. Under that law there will be one uniform set of regulations administered by the Secretary of Transportation. Under the Senate bill, however, the changeover could take several years, and once completed there would be no national uniformity of regulations such as would be achieved under HR10.

Motor vehicle accidents and the consequent social and economic dislocations are critical national problems affecting millions of American citizens in all 50 states. They demand a national solution. HR 10 is such a solution which would take effect simply, quickly and without confusion.

The other exception which I take to the article is the statement ". . . he [President Nixon] had Congress pass a resolution advising the states to get moving on no-fault." The President did send the Congress a draft of a concurrent resolution calling on the states to enact no-fault motor vehicle insurance legislation. It was before my subcommittee on commerce and finance during the first session of the 92nd Congress (1971). This resolution, however, was more gesture than substance and had no legal or practical effect, so it was not acted upon by my committee.

In 1970 Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe asked Congress not to pass federal no-fault laws for two years, so that individual states could have time to initiate their own regulations. The two years are up, but to date only five states have passed meaningful no-fault laws. It is true that Mrs. Virginia Knauer, director of consumer affairs, stated that "no-fault insurance is the answer to the automobile liability-insurance scandal." But the Office of Consumer Affairs has since been dissolved into an executive agency and nothing has been heard from the White House in support of S 354 or HR 10. The silence of the White House seems to indicate that the present administration is listening to the voices of the trial lawyers and insurance executives instead of the voices of the people.

Rep. John E. Moss
Washington, DC

Justice Goldberg Comments

Sirs:

In light of the erudite exchange between Professor Bickel (*TNR*, Feb. 23) and Mr. Lewin (*TNR*, March 3), it would serve no purpose for me to reply at any length to Professor Bickel's article responding to mine. I fear, however, that the complexity of the subject may obscure my principal objection to the proposal of the study group on the caseload of the Supreme Court recommending the creation of a new national court of appeals.

This objection, succinctly stated, is that the study group's proposal would deny to Americans their existing right to take any case raising a substantial

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constitutional issue to the highest court in the land. Under present procedures, however burdensome, it is a great virtue of our judicial system that citizens of whatever estate, race or color are free to present to the Supreme Court their claim that equal and relevant justice under the Constitution is being denied them.

It is true, as Professor Bickel points out, that Supreme Court litigation can be expensive. But it is not expensive for the poor and the deprived. The celebrated case of Clarence Earl Gideon is the most apposite. Gideon himself apparently prepared his petition for habeas corpus and ultimately for *certiorari* to the Supreme Court. He stated: "I, Clarence Earl Gideon, claim that I was denied the rights of the 4th, 5th and 14th amendments of the Bill of Rights." He proceeded in *forma pauperis*, which excused him from the payment of the expenses of litigation. The Supreme Court, in granting his petition for *certiorari*, appointed Justice Abe Fortas, then at the bar, to prepare a brief and argue in Gideon's behalf. Gideon's trumpet was heard and his conviction reversed.

Judge Learned Hand once aptly said: "If we are to keep our democracy, there must be one commandment: 'Thou shall not ration justice.' " The proposal for a national court of appeals, in a very real sense, would ration the justice the Supreme Court now affords.

Arthur J. Goldberg
Washington, DC

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Abortion Ruling

Sirs:

Your February 10 editorial regarding the Supreme Court's decision on abortion properly attacks the Court for imposing its will on the 50 states. However it misrepresents one critical aspect of the ruling that provides no reasoned argument for a position taken on one of the key questions in the debate.

First, the Court did not state that "during the last three months, the state may if it chooses forbid as well as regulate." Rather it said that "if the state is interested in protecting fetal life after viability, it may go so far as to proscribe abortion during that period except when it is necessary to preserve the life or the health of the mother." Admittedly viability coincides roughly with the start of the third trimester. Nevertheless by referring to the last three months instead of the period after viability your editorial intimates that there is nothing exceptional about an abortion performed at that stage. That suggestion is patently false. After viability the only safe (for the mother) abortion procedure is a hysterotomy. Unlike all other procedures a hysterotomy does not destroy the unborn child in utero. To put it bluntly, physicians and other persons attending in the abortion suite must dispose of a live-born baby. Which raises several rather difficult questions. In what way does a baby aborted by hysterotomy differ from another baby of the same gestational age who is born prematurely? Why are house-staff neonatalogists required to apply ordinary means to save the one but not the other? Given that an unborn child can be killed legally anytime before birth, what principle protects the life of a full-term baby? Or any other human being?

Second, your editorial fails to provide reasoned argument for the statement that "it is clear that the fetus is not life in being at the early stages of pregnancy . . . ." What body of evidence establishes that the unborn child in its metaphysical content is sufficiently different from all other human beings that it is properly considered a nonperson before the law? Both the Court and your editorial could settle the issue by simple assertion rather than by reasoned argument.

What a pity that your editorial staff did not see fit to extend the same eloquent argument attacking capital punishment (Feb. 3) to abortion. ". . . society ought not to kill by deliberate choice. It brutalizes us, not to speak of what it does to the agent we employ to do our killing."

Meade P. O'Boyle, MD
Upper Arlington, Ohio

Property Taxes

Sirs:

Your statement ("How To Cut Property Taxes," *TNR*, Jan. 27, 1973) that "State courts have ruled it [the property tax] unconstitutional as a means for financing public schools because it discriminates against children in low wealth districts" may be inaccurate. If by state courts you refer to California's *Serrano vs. Priest* you are particularly in error. Your statement should read as follows: "State courts have ruled the property tax *as presently conceived, administered* and *apportioned* unconstitutional as a means for financing public schools because it discriminates against children in low wealth districts."

The obvious answer to *Serrano* is an equal and identical rate levied on land alone (not improvements) on every parcel of real property in the State of California *but distributed* to the districts on the basis of the respective district's school population. Thus the land of the entire state of California is equally behind each child and in equal portion. This is the proposal of our state controller, Houston Flournay. Land is the basic source of all wealth. This basic source of wealth should not be denied to future generations as a tax base for their education.

Merton G. Wray
Whittier, Calif.

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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

pop-music world have become, in their desperation and grab, a species of archetypal criminals without crime. (Something like the theme of Rip Torn's new film *Payday*.)

This is the material for a good short play—half-hour, perhaps 40 minutes. In this production it runs two and three-quarter hours, including intermission. Partly this is Shepard's self-indulgence. Partly it's the doing of the director, Richard Schechner, and his company, the Performance Group.

Schechner's Group, which in recent years has toured a good deal through this country and abroad, plays in New York at a place called the Performing Garage—a big bare floor, differently used for different productions, with a narrow gallery running around all four walls. For this play there is a tall free-standing constructivist set occupying most of the floor-space, designed by Jerry Rojo, who is called the environmentalist, not the scene designer. The audience is invited to sit or stand where it will and is warned in advance that it will have to follow the action around, either on the floor with the actors or on the gallery, as the play moves around the bays and towers.

Schechner's work, as I have seen it, is absolutely devoid of any recognition of the concept of talent, any need for it. He conceives ideas, then applies them; that's all. That these are often dry critical exercises—possible to any theoretician, talented or not—never seems to matter to him. His cast reflects this. They, too, have no talent; they are simply willing and committed, inflated with a kind of confidence in the venture. In Foreman's Ontological-Hysteric Theater (*TNR*, Jan. 27) the absence of competent actors doesn't matter; no characters or passions are involved. In Schechner's Group, the attempts at theatrical effect are simply pathetic. Still, without any talent or even personality, with enormous pauses as the actors move around the set and wait for the ambulatory audience to catch up with them, with Schechner's huge barrage of trite "experimental" effects and underscorings, some of Shepard's stinging vulgar ecstasy sears through from time to time.

Perhaps Shepard likes this production; I don't know. It's certainly different from the one described in the London reviews. (The play was first produced there last year.) If so, so much the worse, because for me the center of attention shifted from the play to the audience. The most consistently interesting aspect of the evening for me was the willingness, the eagerness, with which the (predominantly young) audience accepted its assignment of following the actors and forming circles around them during every scene. This, like most of Schechner's ideas, is not new: Luca Ronconi did it with a production of *Orlando Furioso* seen in New York a couple of years ago; but at least it provided dramatic action of a sort, delegated though it was from the production to the audience.

Musical Note. A new "operetta," so described by one reviewer, has been derived from Ingmar Bergman's film, *Smiles of a Summer Night*. It's called *A Little Night Music* (Shubert), and its faults, which it surely has, of book and cast would fade if it fulfilled the primary function of operetta: to supply pretty tunes. There is none. Not one. Stephen Sondheim wrote the lyrics and music. He is verbally clever, though I think his lyrics probably sound better at backers' auditions than they do when actors have to fight his music in a large theater. But he has nil melodic gift. Give the line "A weekend in the country" to anyone you know, ask him to improvise a tune to fit it, and you will probably get a better tune than the one in this Sondheim song. There's nothing so wrong with this show that good songs wouldn't cure it, but it's uncured. Too little night music.

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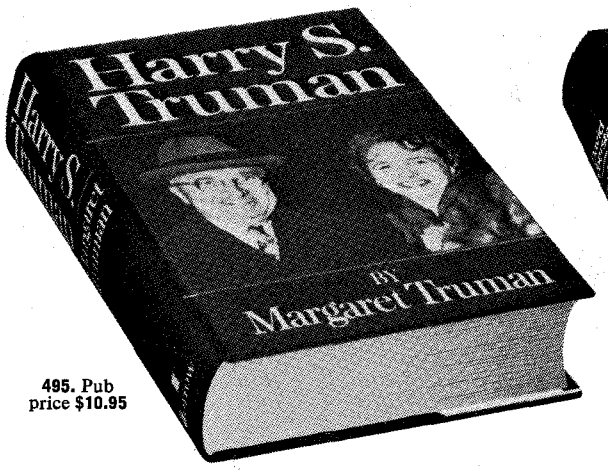

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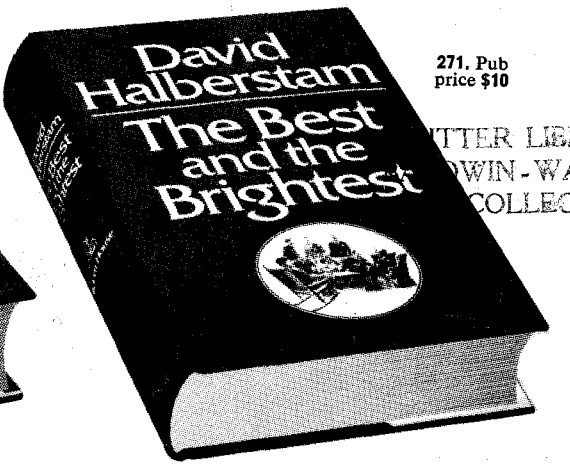

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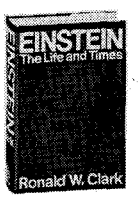

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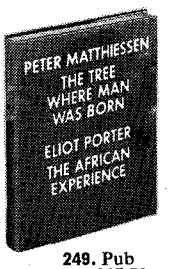

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